

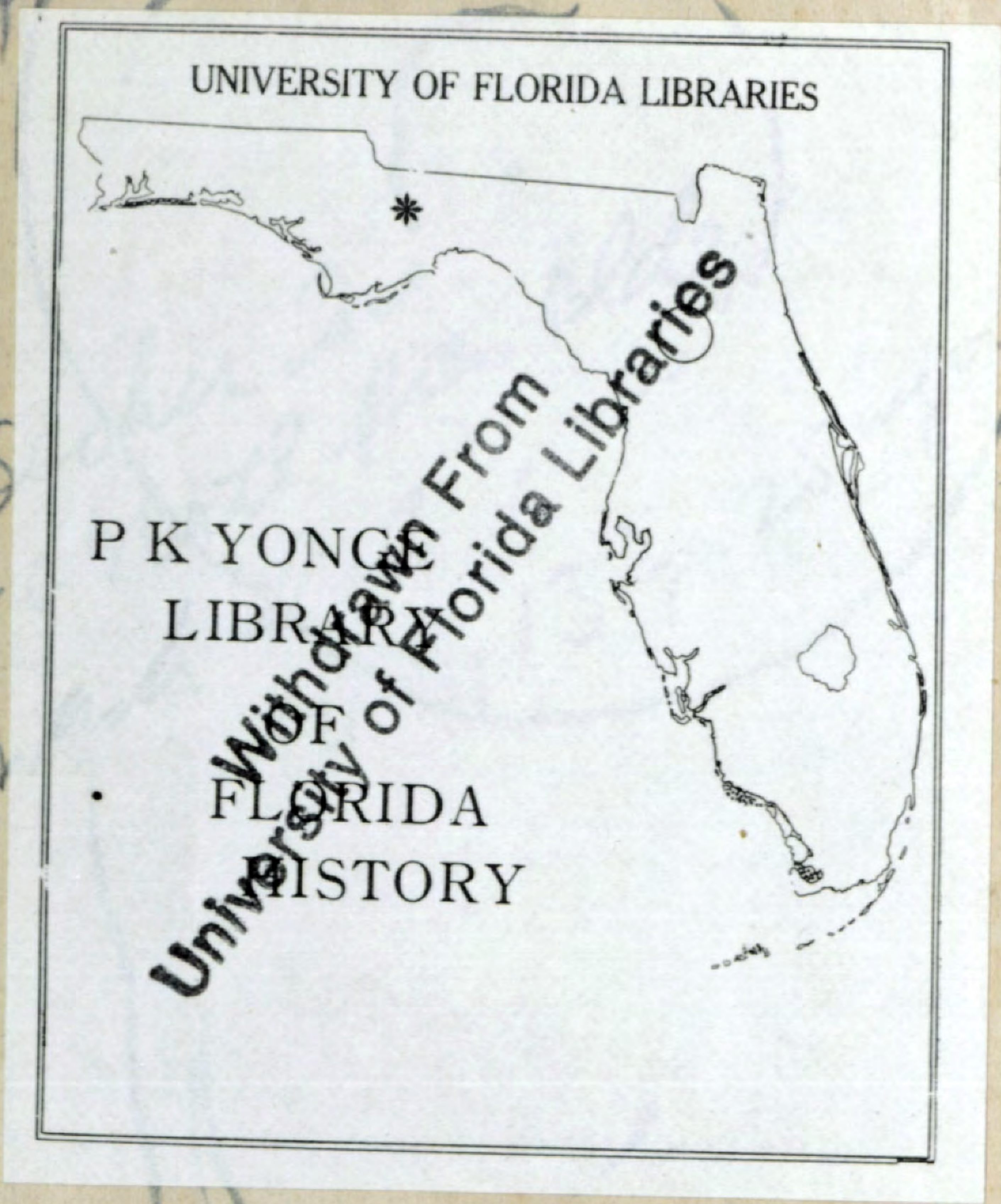
History of Florida



G. R. FAIRBANKS

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FLORIDA

ITS HISTORY AND ITS ROMANCE

THE OLDEST SETTLEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES,
ASSOCIATED WITH THE MOST ROMANTIC EVENTS
OF AMERICAN HISTORY, UNDER THE SPANISH,
FRENCH, ENGLISH, AND AMERICAN FLAGS. 1497-1904

BY

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THIRD REVISED EDITION

WITH A NEW AND ACCURATE MAP OF FLORIDA



SCHOOL EDITION—WITH QUESTIONS IN APPENDIX

JACKSONVILLE, FLORIDA

H. AND W. B. DREW COMPANY

1904

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PREFACE

THE name of Florida is one of the oldest connected with the discovery of America. It appears on the earliest maps known, sometimes as a great island and sometimes as a headland. It was visited and taken possession of for the Spanish crown within twenty years of the first landing of Columbus at San Salvador, and is the oldest settled portion of the United States.

As originally designated, it covered all the country from Cape Florida to the Chesapeake and westward to unknown limits. Its romantic and eventful history extends over a period of nearly four hundred years, embracing as well expeditions for the discovery of gold and precious stones as for the propagation of the Christian faith among a savage nation, or as a refuge from religious persecution.

Occupied by colonies from the European countries at different times, it has been the scene of wars, massacres, and contentions between French, Spanish, English, and Americans, as well as continual conflicts with the savage races which once inhabited it, a remnant of whom still remains within its southern borders.

To present the leading events of this long period up to the

present time in a clear and succinct manner has been the aim of the author—a difficult achievement because conciseness is more laborious than enlargement ; but as this work is largely designed for the edification of the young as well as the general reader, it was necessary that it should be limited in space and simple in style.

The present work embraces events occurring over a much larger area of country than is now embraced in the State of Florida, but these events belong properly to the history of Florida as it was then known.

PREFACE TO THIRD EDITION

Since the publication of the first edition the results of the United States census of 1900 have been made public, the conflagration of the City of Jacksonville and its marvelous reconstruction have taken place and since the second edition sundry events of importance have seemed worthy of record. The author has added to this third edition Chapters 39, 40 and 41 and several additional illustrations, as also the census tables of 1900.

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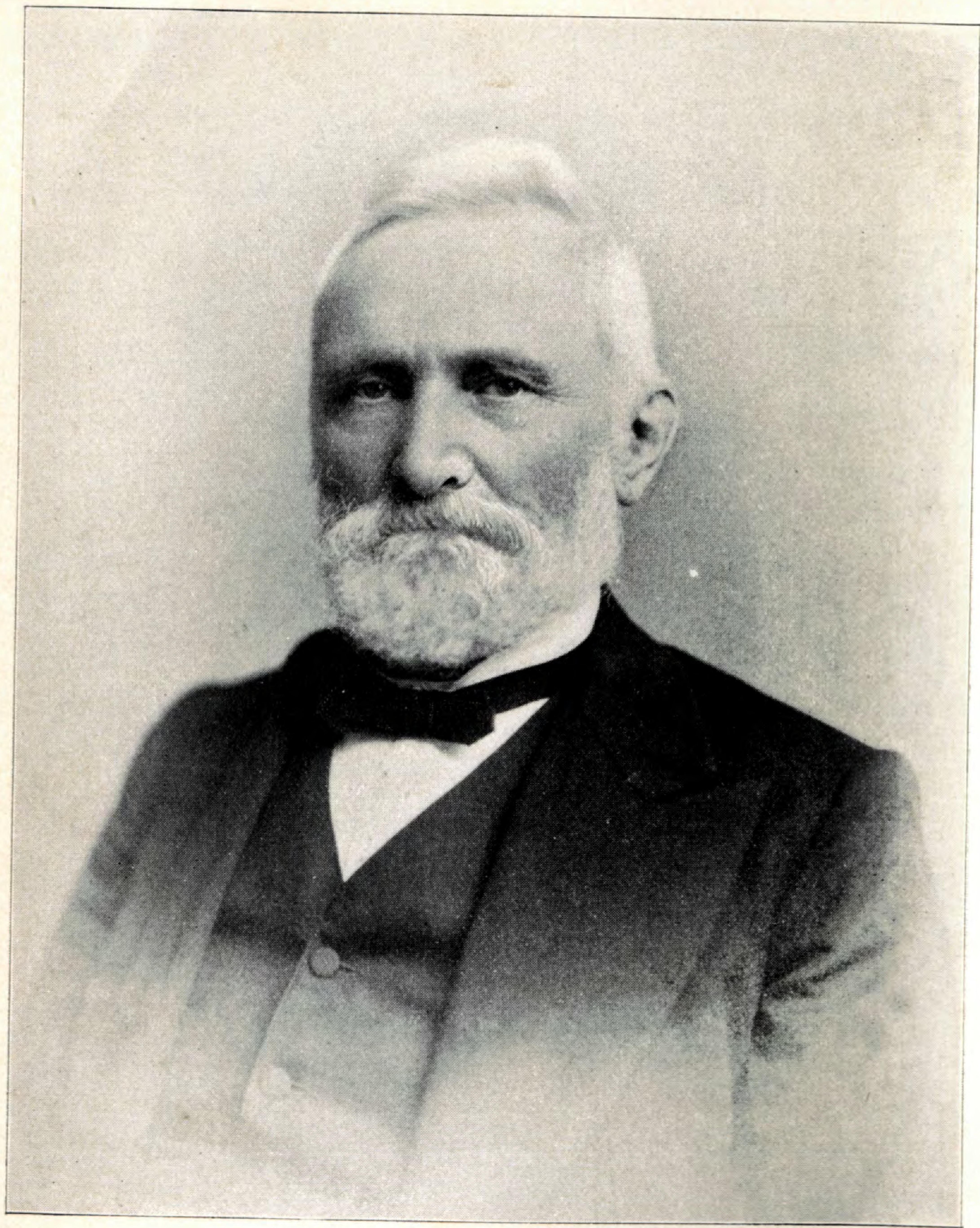


LANDING OF THE SPANIARDS AT TAMPA BAY

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Geo. R. Fairbanks

Fernandina Florida

HISTORY OF FLORIDA

CHAPTER I

How Florida was discovered—Ponce de Leon's search for the Fountain of Youth—His hunt for Bimini—Landing on the eastern coast of Florida near St. Augustine—His adventures and tragic death.

A.D. 1513

IF Columbus had held a course due west from Spain, he would have come upon the coast of North America near Norfolk, and perhaps have entered Chesapeake Bay ; or, had he sailed directly west from the Canary Islands, he would have reached the continent on the eastern coast of Florida, at a distance of some three thousand six hundred miles ; but, as it turned out, the first land he reached was the small island now called Watling's, about four hundred miles east of Florida ; and, as he sailed south from there, he never reached the mainland at all. The English claim that Sebastian Cabot, in the year 1497, sailing under the English flag, was the first to discover the coast of Florida, but it is doubtful whether he sailed further south than Cape Hatteras, and he never set foot anywhere upon the shore.* The generally received opinion confers the honor of being the discoverer of Florida upon Juan Ponce de Leon, in the year 1513. The origin of the expedition, and the romantic

* There is reason to believe that Pinzon and Americus Vesputius sailed around the coast of Florida in 1498.

object for which it was undertaken, have associated Florida as the Land of Flowers with the Fountain of Youth, so long embalmed in ancient fable. Ponce de Leon was a native of the province or kingdom of Leon, as it was then called. He served as a page to Nuñez de Guzman, a man of distinction, and, while a mere youth, was actively engaged in the war waged by Ferdinand and Isabella against the Moors of Granada. Thus, well trained in the school of war, he no doubt eagerly sought new fields of adventure, and, having heard the marvelous reports of the discovery of the Indies by Columbus, he gladly embraced the opportunity of going with him on his second voyage. His valor and sagacity in fighting the Indians after arriving in the islands, soon brought him into notice, and he was made second in command in the campaign against Higuey, and, having achieved success, he was made lieutenant-governor of Hispaniola. He was of too ambitious and restless a disposition to remain idle, and seeing, a few leagues off, the beautiful island of Puerto Rico, which was reported to contain gold, and inhabited by a tribe of simple natives, he organized an expedition for its subjugation, and had himself appointed governor of that island. The native islanders thought the Spaniards were supernatural beings, and not mortals like themselves. Being treated with great harshness and cruelty by the Spaniards, they sought deliverance in some way. One of their chiefs, more intelligent than the rest, and less credulous, proposed to test the question whether the white men were subject to death, and, with some of his followers, seized a Spaniard while crossing a stream and held him under the water until he ceased to struggle, and then laid him on the shore, offering him the most profuse apologies for the accident, and then waited to see if he would wake up; but, getting no response, and having watched the body for three days, they concluded that a Spaniard was mortal like themselves. They made a spirited attack upon their oppressors, but, losing their leader, were defeated by the superior skill in

the use of arms of Ponce de Leon's soldiers, although few in numbers.

Ponce de Leon was, however, soon suspended in his government, but in the mean time had availed himself of his opportunities for the acquisition of considerable wealth, and was now eager again to enter upon some new enterprise from which he might derive fame and fortune. It was a period when new discoveries were eagerly sought for, but there were so many of these soldiers of fortune seeking adventures in new fields that it was not easy to find a new path to discovery. However, chance favored the brave soldier. Some old Indians told him of a country which abounded in gold and pearls, and which, moreover, possessed a wonderful stream, the waters of which were gifted with the power of conferring upon those who should bathe in them the freshness of youth and full restoration of all their former strength and vigor ; that some of their people had gone there, and were so well satisfied that they had never returned. This enticing description appealed to Ponce de Leon in many ways, especially in exciting that craving for gold which was felt so strongly by all adventurers, and, moreover, as he was growing in years and declining in strength, nothing could be more agreeable to him than the prospect of recovering his lost youth and vigor, while to these potent reasons was added the expectation of the honor that would crown the happy discoverer of this wonderful land, and which would exceed that of all his predecessors in the field of discovery.

He had acquired some degree of wealth in his public employment, and was thus enabled to equip three vessels for his expedition. He easily obtained followers to accompany him, as credulity lent a willing ear to the marvelous story. This is not surprising, as the real wonders of the new world were often as remarkable as any which were invented. The Indians had described this fairyland as existing to the north, but that he might not be discouraged, they also located a fountain of

similar wonderful powers on one of the Bahamas, which they called Bimini ; so that if he failed to find the one, he would be encouraged to seek for the other.

In the spring of 1513 Ponce de Leon sailed from Puerto Rico with his three vessels, and, coasting along the neighboring islands of Hispaniola, laid his course northward to the Bahama Islands, seeking for directions to find the Fountain of Youth; but no one could tell him of its location or even seemed to know of its existence, more appearing to be known about it at a distance than where it was reported to exist. As he was unable to find Bimini, he determined to seek the more distant land, which had been described to him as containing gold as well as this wonderful stream. He was, no doubt, told of the neighboring coast of Florida, lying so near the western islands of the Lucayan group, and doubtless well known to their inhabitants. Bearing to the northwest, on the 27th of March, 1513, he descried land on the eastern coast of Florida, and coasted along the supposed island until April 2d, when he landed near St. Augustine. Following the usual custom of the times in bestowing names, having come upon the coast on Palm Sunday (Pascua Florida), he called it Florida. He landed with his principal officers, planted a cross, threw the royal banner of Spain to the breeze, and, standing around it, all swore allegiance to the crown, and formal possession was taken of the land in the name of the king of Spain. The natives told him their country was called Cautio. He had reached, as he supposed, the land of which such glowing reports had been given him. It was, no doubt, a pleasant land, with its evergreen verdure, its stately pines, its streams, flowers, vines, and the sweet music of its singing birds; but he was in search of other things on which his heart was set. He had, for the most part, found the natives of the new world simple and submissive, but the people he now encountered were fierce and intractable. He found no guides to hidden treasures, no invitation to visit

the wonderful fountain. In vain he moved along the coast ; in vain he landed here and there, hoping for some verification of the stories which had sent him there. Discouraged at last at this want of success, he turned homeward, and after a long and dangerous voyage, with torn sails and battered ships, he returned to Puerto Rico a good deal poorer and some older than when he started. On his way back he came across an old woman, the only inhabitant of a small island, who said she could guide him to Bimini. He sent a trusty officer in one of his vessels with the old crone as a guide. She directed him to an island she called Bimini, which he reported as a pleasant island, but possessing no fountain of youth. Not to lose the credit of his discovery, he soon after went to Spain, and made a report of the new lands he had discovered. The story of his fanciful expedition in quest of the fountain had already reached Spain, and he was quizzed not a little about it by the wits on his arrival. The shrewd old soldier, however, so told his tale, enhancing, no doubt, the value of his discoveries and supported by his well-founded reputation, that he was graciously received by the king, and was honored with the lofty title of Adelantado of Bimini and Florida, with permission to secure in the colonies of Spain recruits for establishing settlements in his new government.

Difficulties having arisen with the Indians on the islands, he was assigned by the king to the command of a considerable force to put down the native inhabitants. Having landed a party on one of the islands, and not exercising his usual caution, he was set upon by the Indians. Many were killed, and all the women carried off. Failing of success in these operations, he retired to Puerto Rico, where he remained several years, restless, morose, and unpopular.

In the mean time the report of Cortez's brilliant exploits in Mexico had set him again aflame for new expeditions. His ambition and avarice were again aroused, and he looked for-

ward with renewed hope, not to finding the Fountain of Youth, but to founding an empire which should give him untold wealth and fame.

During the year 1521 he made arrangements for another expedition to Florida, fitting out two vessels at his own expense and sinking his entire fortune in the enterprise. He reached Florida after battling with severe gales, and landed in a bay north of Cape Sable, on the Gulf coast, long known as Juan Ponce de Leon Bay. He went on shore in state as the adelantado of Florida, but the natives attacked his force with fierceness and impetuosity, killing a large number of Spaniards and severely wounding Ponce de Leon himself, forcing a precipitate retreat to their vessels. On their return they landed on an island where they secured a large number of turtles, and gave it the name of Tortugas, which it has ever since borne.

The brave old soldier, grievously wounded, sick at heart, and doubtless depressed at the apparent ill fortune which seemed to attend all the enterprises of his declining years, succumbed to the winds of fortune, abandoned the shores of Florida and all the high expectations which he had formed of prospective honors, and took refuge in Cuba, and a few days after his return passed away, honored and regretted by many who had known the bold and adventurous cavalier in his earlier years.

Of all the historic names associated with Florida's long history, De Soto alone perhaps excepted, the name of Juan Ponce de Leon stands out more prominently than any other. The romantic character of his expedition has won for him a name and remembrance which the real importance of anything he attempted or accomplished in that or in any other quarter would have failed to give him. So true it is that the folly or credulity of mankind often makes more impression on the mind than distinguished virtues or noble actions.

It would no doubt have greatly solaced Ponce de Leon in

his last sad days could he have known of the magnificent world-renowned hostelry, named after him in the old city, near the spot where he first set foot on shore, and of the many other localities bearing his name in different portions of that Florida for the discovery of which posterity has given him due credit and honor.

Was there, then, no foundation for this widespread belief in some health-gifted spring or fountain of youth, which wise men, as well as unwise men, believed to exist somewhere to the north of the West India Islands? If Ponce de Leon could have found them, might not the fabled fountain have claimed a realization in some of the remarkably beautiful springs with which we are now familiar in various parts of Florida? Who that has ever floated on the bright waters of Silver Spring or on the bosom of the Wakulla has not felt his pulse thrill with delight at the almost unreal character of the waters, so pellucid that one seems suspended in midair, the shadows from the skies above resting in varied beauty in its depths, while the bright sunlight flecks the rocks below with rays of dazzling brightness, an azure tinge encircling every object and surrounding it with a halo of purple light? It would not be strange that they should be deemed to possess a rejuvenating elixir, and promise to those who would dwell by their banks and disport in their waters a restoration of youth, vigor, and energy.

Some embellished tale of the beautifying powers of these lovely fountains in Florida may well have been carried from the shores of Florida to the adjoining group of islands, and hence become a common belief of more distant peoples.

CHAPTER II

The slave-hunting expedition of Vasquez d'Ayllon, and voyages of Miruelo, De Cordova, and Alaminos, seeking for gold in Florida.

A.D. 1520

SHORTLY after Ponce de Leon's return from his first expedition, several voyages were made to the coast of Florida. Although Florida, having been traversed only on its Atlantic and Gulf coasts, was supposed to be a very large island, yet there was so much that was indefinite and uncertain as to its extent, productions, and people that for a long time afterwards the whole region extending north from Cape Florida to the Chesapeake Bay, west to unknown limits, was all called Florida.

In 1516, Diego Miruelo, a pilot, went over from Cuba to Florida, carrying trinkets and other things to trade with the natives on the coast. He obtained some pieces of gold, but did not go back from the coast, and soon returned to Cuba with an account of the richness of the country and the neighboring islands, which stirred up quite a fever for going to Florida.

In the following year an expedition returning from New Spain and Mexico, en route to Cuba, under the command of Fernando de Cordova, landed in Ponce de Leon Bay for the purpose of procuring water and repairing their vessels. Having posted two sentinels, they were filling their water-casks when the alarm of the approach of the Indians was given, and was immediately followed by an onslaught of a large body of natives, one body of whom captured their boat, overpowering and wounding Cordova and those left on board, while those on shore being in larger force and well armed, routed the

natives, killing twenty-two of their number and making prisoners of two, and also recovering their boat with their wounded comrades.

The Indians, however, captured one of their sentinels, who was carried off into captivity. One of the Spanish soldiers is said to have swelled up and died from drinking too much water. The expedition passed on to Havana, where Cordova died in a few days of the wounds he had received at the hands of the Indians. Alaminos, who was the pilot of Cordova's vessel, gave a flattering account of what he had seen in Mexico and Florida to France de Garay, governor of Jamaica, who was both rich and influential, and persuaded him that it would be a good thing to obtain from the king of Spain the office of adelantado of the rivers Pedro and St. Paul in Mexico, and of whatever parts he might discover in that quarter, assuring the governor of the acquisition of rich and extensive countries. De Garay was induced to assist Alaminos, who, with three vessels, first sailed along the Gulf coast of Florida, landing twice, but was each time driven off by the Indians. He then continued along the Gulf coast westward to Panuco, in Mexico, thus establishing the northerly shore line of the Gulf of Mexico, and demonstrating that Florida was not an island, but an unexplored mainland, stretching northward to unknown limits.

A much more interesting expedition was set on foot the following year, 1520, by Lucas Vasquez d'Ayllon, an officer of some distinction, who had been in San Domingo many years. He, with six associates, was engaged in gold mines which were worked by natives, and oppression and cruelty having killed off large numbers, he planned a descent upon the Lucayan Islands in order to obtain others to replace them.

The government of Spain, under the influence of Las Casas, had undertaken to protect the natives of the new world from the oppression and avarice of the colonists, but the Caribs (the unsubdued islanders) were held to be cannibals and without the

pale of the laws. Under the pretence of seeking only to enslave Caribs, two vessels were fitted out and several unsuccessful forays were made, but failing to entrap the Indians of the Lucayan Islands, D'Ayllon passed onward to the north, and landed on the coast of South Carolina in a province called Chicora.

Of this wonderful land two remarkable things were related with much gravity by the ancient chronicler. It was reported he said that the royal family of Xapida, a neighboring province, were all giants, and were made so artificially after this manner : While in tender infancy certain Indian medicine men took the young princes and princesses and softened their bones like wax with plasters made of certain herbs, until they appeared almost lifeless. The nurses who suckled the children were fed with very nutritious food. After some days the medicine men returned and stretched the bones of the infants, and did the same to the nurses, until by repeated application of the stretching process the children grew in stature as large as they desired them to be. Another remarkable thing which the Spaniards learned on this expedition was the existence of a race of beings with tails like horses, which they whisked about with great vigor. These singular people lived on raw fish, which probably accounted for the caudal appendage. The Spanish historian refers in this connection to a legend of some vile fellows who, in order to insult St. Thomas a-Becket at Canterbury, cut off the tails of his horses, and were punished by the growth of similar appendages on their own persons.

D'Ayllon landed at various points, and encountering people more kindly disposed than those of the more southern portions of the coast, was received with much kindness. By gifts and artifice he enticed one hundred and thirty on board his vessels, and, under pretence of showing them what was below, induced them to go into the hold, battened down the hatches, and set sail for Hispaniola. So sudden and treacherous an act aroused the fierce indignation of his captives and their friends on shore.

No kindness or attention afterwards could reconcile the Indians to their captivity, and nothing could divert the minds of these proud and high-spirited sons of Chicora from their grief and deep despair. One of the vessels foundered at sea, going down with all on board, captives and captors, to a common death. The other reached Hispaniola; but D'Ayllon came under severe censure for the artifice which had been employed to entrap these poor natives of Chicora. The final result of the expedition is thus briefly and simply told by the old Spanish historian: "And the Indians profited them in no wise, because they nearly all died of vexation and grief."

But still intent on following up his adventure, D'Ayllon went to Spain, carrying with him a native youth of Chicora, who had been instructed and baptized under the name of Francisco. Presenting himself at court, he made the relation of his expedition as favorable to himself as he could, exhibiting his Indian convert, Francisco, in order to enlist the sympathy of the ecclesiastics, describing the country no doubt in flattering colors, and asked for the privilege of its conquest and settlement. This was readily granted, and he was created a Knight of the Order of St. Iago.

He returned to St. Domingo, but it was three years before he was prepared to renew his expedition. He then dispatched two vessels to begin the exploration of that portion of the mainland embraced within his contract, which was to occupy the lands from the 25th to the 37th degrees of north latitude. These vessels soon returned, bringing specimens of gold, silver, and pearls, and with so favorable a report of the country they had visited, that D'Ayllon determined to set out at once and take possession of his province of Chicora.

He refitted the two vessels which had just returned, and, adding a third, again set sail and safely reached the coast of South Carolina. Choosing a favorable spot for landing, with the purpose of establishing a settlement, he disembarked and

was received by the natives with affected cordiality and pleasure, and this was carried to such an extent as to disarm him of all suspicion. He at once concluded that he would have no difficulty in obtaining possession of the country. For the purpose of exploring the interior he sent a party of two hundred men, upon the invitation of the Indian chiefs, to visit a town a day's journey from the coast. The party was hospitably entertained—everything was done for their diversion; they were feasted upon the choicest game and most delicious esculents, indeed treated as honored guests—and for four days enjoyed a continual round of feasting. All precautions were gradually neglected, and they surrendered themselves unreservedly to the care of their new friends. On the fourth night, after much feasting, they had yielded to peaceful and profound slumber. The opportunity for revenge the people of Chicora had been waiting for had at last come, and in the dead of night they crept upon their unsuspecting guests and simultaneously buried their hatchets in their brains, not one being spared to carry the tale to D'Ayllon. All were killed.

Reeking with vengeance, the Indians hastened to the shore, where D'Ayllon had remained, and attacked his men with great violence. Defending themselves as best they could, the Spaniards retreated to their vessels, but D'Ayllon was left among the slain. The ships having waited a reasonable time for news of the return of their comrades, and no tidings reaching them, and no longer doubting of their fate, hoisted their sails and returned to Hispaniola, bearing the startling tidings of Chicora's vengeance for the duplicity and treachery of D'Ayllon.

The son of D'Ayllon sought of the Spanish crown a renewal of the grant which had been made to his father, which was accorded him, but, being unable to equip an expedition, he died in Spain, it is said, of melancholy in consequence of his disappointment.

Chicora is supposed to have been in the neighborhood of

Beaufort, S. C. About this period, Verazzano, an Italian navigator in the French service, came upon the coast of North Carolina in about latitude 35 degrees, landed at various points as he coasted northward as far as Cape Cod, and returned to France, where he made a brief report of the country, the manners and customs of the Indians. He made a second voyage to America, from which he never returned, and was never heard from, having probably perished at sea.

CHAPTER III

Panfilo de Narvaez's march through Florida from Clear Water Bay to Appalachee.

A.D. 1527

PANFILO DE NARVAEZ, after a futile attempt to supersede Hernando Cortez in Mexico, undertook on his own account an expedition aiming to reach the northern portion of Mexico by a land route through Florida. In the unsettled knowledge of the extent and boundaries of the Gulf of Mexico, he had become possessed with the idea that Panuco, near Tampico in Mexico, could be reached by crossing over to Florida and marching westward a few hundred leagues.

He secured from the king of Spain the appointment of adelantado (governor) of Florida, with power to occupy and govern all the country between Cape Florida and the River of Palms, which entered the Gulf of Mexico near the present city of Tampico.

He sailed from the port of San Lucar in Spain in June, 1527, with five vessels, carrying six hundred men, and landed in Hispaniola (Hayti) to refit his fleet, and lost two vessels with their crews, which he had sent to Trinidad for provisions. He was thus detained until April, 1528, when, having procured other vessels, he embarked with a force of four hundred men and eighty horses, having as pilot Miruelo, who claimed to be familiar with the coast. Sailing westward and then north along the west coast of Florida, they entered a bay conjectured to have been Clear Water Bay, just north of Tampa Bay, then called Espiritu Santo Bay. On Good Friday, a day of bad omen for

the expedition, they landed, planted the royal standard, and took formal possession of the country for the Spanish king, and named the bay the Bay of the Holy Cross. At the head of the bay they discovered an Indian town, the central house of which was large enough to hold three hundred people. The natives received them in a friendly way, but indicated by signs that they wished them to leave.

Narvaez deciding not to make any settlement here, determined to march to a much better country, which Miruelo had described. Some Indians had by signs told him that there was a rich province called Appalachee to the northward, where he would find plenty of gold. He disembarked three hundred men and the forty horses remaining alive, leaving on board the ships one hundred men. He intended marching northward along the coast, and have the vessels coast along so as to be in occasional communication with his force on land.

The land portion of the expedition began their march poorly provisioned, carrying only two pounds of bread and half a pound of meat per man, but they expected to secure provisions from the Indians as they proceeded on their march. Narvaez had a most indefinite idea of his destination or of the distance he would have to travel to reach it. Through the geographical ignorance of the times, he thought he could reach Panuco, in the vicinity of Tampico in Mexico, in a few days, when in fact it was 1,500 miles distance by land. They marched fifteen days without encountering a habitation or a human being. They then came to a river, on the banks of which they met a large body of friendly Indians, who conducted them to their village near by. A small party went to the coast to look for the ships, but found no signs of them. Resuming their march after procuring some provisions from the Indians, they afterward crossed a river of considerable size and rapid current, which must have been the Suwanee River.

They encountered afterwards unfriendly savages, who ob-

structed their march with fallen timber. Seven days after leaving the river they reached the Appalachian country, where they had anticipated finding gold and a rich, well-peopled country like Mexico. They found Appalachee to be only an Indian village of forty or fifty houses, and no indications of gold. The country they had passed through was well wooded, with numerous lakes, and the country was said to abound in deer, rabbits, horses, bears, lions, and kangaroos. The town was situated on a lake, and there was another village across the lake. This lake may have been Lake La Fayette or Miccosukee.

He remained at this town about a month, consuming the provisions of the Indians, who waged a constant war with their unwelcome visitors until they were persuaded to move on to a place on the coast called Aute, where the Indians told them they would find provisions as well as fish in abundance. On their march they were constantly beset by the Indians, who attacked them from every covert and eluded all pursuit. So skillful were the Indians in the use of the bow, it was said they could send an arrow clear through a good-sized tree, and wielded bows eight feet in length.

After several days' march Narvaez came to Aute, the Indians having burned their houses and fled on the approach of the Spaniards. On their march they crossed a river they called Magdalena, and which was probably the Ocklocknee. Aute was one day's march from the sea, and was probably on Appalachicola Bay.

Although they found the town destroyed, they were able to procure an abundant supply of fish and oysters, but they were not allowed to rest in peace ; whenever they left camp they were waylaid on every hand. Unaccustomed to such food and in constant apprehension of assault by the natives, and being unacclimated, they were now, in the month of August, the victims of fever.

The alluring hopes which had led them on to Appalachee and

thence to Aute, had now no further basis to rest upon. The gold and abundance which was to reward them at Appalachee had not been found, and the plenty they were to find at Aute had vanished. Their dreams of the conquest and spoils of barbarous and wealthy peoples, like those of Mexico and Peru, were miserably dissipated. They had now reached a condition of mind with no hope but of self-preservation, and no desire except to leave the country. The vessels they had left behind them they had never heard of more; sickness was daily thinning their ranks and lessening their strength to proceed further or even to defend themselves where they were. They were alike destitute of resources for remaining on or leaving these fated shores.

Narvaez now found himself cut off from any knowledge by his countrymen as to his whereabouts. Hemmed in by cruel and relentless foes, faint with sickness and depressed by disappointment, a miserable, defeated, and helpless man, utterly dispirited, he called a council of his officers to consider how they could escape from the country before they all perished of disease and hunger. If they undertook to retrace their steps they had no way to obtain supplies on their journey or vessels to receive them. They knew that Mexico lay somewhere to the west of them, and they imagined that they could reach there in a comparatively short time. They believed that they were nearer to Mexico than to Cuba, and felt unable to proceed further by land. They decided that it would be best to build boats and endeavor to coast along the shore until they reached Mexico. Their means of construction were very limited. There was timber at hand, and that was all; but necessity is well said to be the mother of invention, and they had the energy of desperation. A smith of the company said he could make bellows from deerskin, and would forge the necessary bolts, nails, and necessary iron work from their swords, arms, and equipments.

Some cut timber and hewed it into shape, the smith forged the nails and bolts, others gathered palmettoes and beat out fiber

as a substitute for tow for caulking the seams, and they made tar to pitch the seams from the pine knots. Such was the energy with which they worked, that with but one single carpenter to direct the work, they completed within six weeks five boats one hundred feet in length. They made cordage from the fiber of the palmetto and from the manes and tails of the horses. The sails they made from their shirts, and out of the hides of their horses they made bottles for carrying water. During their stay at Aute ten men were killed while out seeking provisions, and forty had died from disease since they began their journey.

CHAPTER IV

How Narvaez and his men undertook to reach Mexico in boats—Their adventures and final shipwreck near the mouth of the Mississippi—Loss of nearly all the party.

A.D. 1528

HAVING finally completed their preparations for the voyage, Narvaez and his companions embarked on these frail boats on the 22d of September. After the provisions and clothing had been put on board, the gunwales of the boats were scarcely six inches out of water, and the men were so crowded that they could hardly move, each boat containing about forty-eight persons. They could hardly have selected a worse time for beginning their voyage, September being usually a stormy season at sea in these latitudes. It was, indeed, a most desperate undertaking for these two hundred and forty sick and downhearted men to launch upon a stormy sea, none being sailors, and but scantily provisioned, in wretched, hastily built boats of unseasoned materials, loaded to the gunwales and open to every swell of the waves. They called the bay upon which they launched their boats the Bay of Cavallos. It was probably near the head of Appalachee Bay, as it took some time to descend to the Gulf. When De Soto's expedition visited the same region eleven years afterwards, the Indians conducted them to the spot, where they saw remains of Narvaez's camp, the forge used by the blacksmith, scraps of iron, and the bones of horses, and were shown the place where ten soldiers had been killed in the vicinity of Aute. Narvaez had charge of one boat, Cabeza de Vaca of another, the contador Henriquez of a third, Captains Cas-

tillo and Dorantes of the fourth, and Captain Tellez of the fifth. The priests and friars were in the boat with the contador. For several days the boats kept within the sound, and then went out to sea at a pass, probably that now known as Indian Pass, formed by St. Vincent's Island and the Main, then taking a westerly course along the shore. It seems very strange to us who are conversant with the geography of the country that, intending only to reach Spanish settlements, they should have gone west instead of southeast, Cuba being much nearer than Mexico. The real reason was their ignorance of the true position of the port they wished to reach—Panuco, south of the River of Palms, which empties into the Gulf in the northern part of Mexico and near Tampico. Upon several ancient maps the Bay of Appalachee is represented as about equidistant between the Capes of Florida and the Bay of Tampico, while in fact Panuco, on the Bay of Tampico, is twelve hundred miles distant from the Bay of Appalachee, while Cuba is only about five hundred miles ; but as they had been a long while traveling they thought the distance much greater. The voyagers soon began to suffer from hunger and thirst, and were in constant danger of shipwreck. They occasionally ran into coves and creeks, and sometimes encountered Indians fishing. They thus moved slowly along for thirty days. Entering an inlet, they landed, and were received in an apparently friendly manner by an Indian chief, but in the night they were set upon by the Indians. In the mêlée they took from the chief his blanket, made of the skins of the civet-marten, and saw other Indians similarly decorated, but none so fine. Narvaez, who had accepted the hospitality of the chief's cabin, was wounded in the face by a stone. Endeavoring to reach their boats, they were attacked with fury, and their assailants were with difficulty beaten off. On the following day they again put to sea, and after proceeding three days entered a lagoon and met a canoe manned by Indians. Suffering greatly for want of water, they asked

the Indians where they could obtain it. They said if one of the Spaniards would go with them they would show where it could be had. A Christian Greek, named Theodoro, volunteered to go with them, and was accompanied by a negro, and that was the last that was seen of them. Failing to obtain water or the return of the Greek, they again went out to sea, being violently assailed on the way out by the Indians with stones and sticks. That night they kept on until the following evening, when they came to a very large river, and near by a large number of small islands. Here they obtained fresh water in the open sea where the river joined it. They landed upon an island to roast their corn, and, finding no wood, they undertook to enter the river, but the current was so strong that it carried them out to sea. They worked for two days, trying to reach land again, but De Vaca's boat went aground in three feet of water.

In the morning they got their boat off, and three of the boats then came together, one of which had Narvaez on board. When he was asked for orders, he replied that it was not a time for giving orders, that each one must look out for himself and do whatever he thought best.

De Vaca saw no more of Narvaez, but afterwards learned that he coasted along some distance, that the contador's boat with the friars was capsized, and they, following the coast, came up to those of Narvaez's people, who had landed. The governor brought them all together, and then went on board his boat, and anchored out, refusing to remain on shore, bearing in mind probably the rough reception he had recently met with and the wounds he was still suffering from. He remained in his boat, anchored only with a stone, with only the master and a cabin boy, both of whom were sick. In the middle of the night a storm arose which carried the boat out to sea, unprovided with water or provisions. Nothing more was ever seen of Narvaez.

There on the broad sea this Spanish nobleman, the proud

adelantado, the leader of an expedition the result of which was expected to be equal if not superior to the achievements of Cortez, without followers, desolate, sick, and famished, miserably perished, and no one was left to tell how or where. Those of Narvaez's party who were on shore were thus left helpless, having lost their boat. They followed the shore until they came to a wide bay, which they crossed upon a raft, and, marching along the shore, came to an Indian camp. The Indians seeing them approach, put their tents in their canoes and crossed a river which lay beyond.

The Spaniards, as the weather was cold, concluded to camp in a wood near the shore, trusting to find food of some kind, but they daily grew weaker, and gradually dropped off one by one, protracting their miserable existence by living on the bodies of the dead, until at last one only, named Esquivel, remained, the sole survivor. He was carried into captivity by the Indians, and through him the sad story came to Cabeca de Vaca from one to whom he had told it. From this period on, Cabeca de Vaca was the central figure, and he it was who, being in advance, first described the great river, near its outlet in the Gulf, telling of its current so strong that they were not able to stem it, its waters so deep that they could not be sounded, and so abundant that they carried their freshness far out into the salt sea. One can hardly have a doubt but that the great river was the Father of Waters, the great river of the continent, the Mississippi. It is not De Soto, but Cabeca de Vaca who is entitled to the honor of being the first European who saw the Mississippi, and somewhere on its banks there should be placed a marble column commemorating his discovery.

After Cabeca de Vaca parted from Narvaez, in company with the boat of Penalosa, he rowed four days well out to sea, when they discovered smoke on shore, and being almost famished and without water, they drew in towards the land. It

was November and they began to suffer from cold, and to add to their misery a gale of wind came up. They were so feeble and so chilled that they could hardly handle an oar. They were now approaching the land, when their boat struck bottom a short distance from the shore, and on their hands and knees they crawled to land.

Sheltering themselves in a ravine, they were able to build a fire and roast the little store of corn they still had, and little by little were somewhat revived. They had started on the 22d of September from the Bay de Cavallos, and it was now the 6th of November. Panuco seemed as far off as ever, and the survivors, now numbering ninety souls, were soon all on land, unable to pursue their voyage further. Their boats had capsized, and they had lost all their clothing and everything else they had ; and now shipwrecked and dispirited, they fell upon the last resort, the horrible necessity of subsisting upon the flesh of their dead comrades. The fifth and last boat, that of Captains Penalosa and Tellez, continued some distance further on, was wrecked, and all were killed by the Indians near the spot where they landed.

Of the three hundred who started out from the Bay of Santa Cruz with Narvaez in May, all had perished, so far as was known, before December, except four. These were Cabeza de Vaca, the treasurer ; Captain Alonzo Castillo, Captain Andres Dorantes, and Estevanico, an Arabian negro or Moor. When Narvaez began his march from the Bay of Santa Cruz, he left three vessels there with one hundred men and ten women on board with a very small amount of stores. These vessels were to sail along as near the land as possible, and enter the large bay which Miruelo described, and where Narvaez was to meet them. They followed the coast for some distance without finding the harbor they were looking for, and then sailed southward, and five or six leagues below where they had landed on their arrival, they found a bay which penetrated into the land

seven or eight leagues, which no doubt was Espiritu Santo, now known as Tampa Bay. Two of these vessels continued to search for Narvaez for nearly a year, and then sailed to Mexico. It was from one of these vessels that Juan Ortiz landed and was captured by the Indians, as will be told further on.

All the five boats had now been shipwrecked, that of Dorantes and Castillo having been wrecked on the shore, a few leagues further on, on the day previous to the landing of Penalosa.

CHAPTER V

Story of the remarkable adventures of Cabeca de Vaca—How he became a great medicine man—The peculiar customs of the Indians—His eventual escape with three others and arrival in Mexico.

A.D. 1528-1538

WITH the exception of three who were drowned by the capsizing of a boat, and Narvaez and the two who remained on board with him and were driven out to sea, all who had set out in the five boats from Aute, some two hundred and thirty-four in number, were now scattered along the unkindly shores of Louisiana, divided into two parties. The fate of those ninety souls in the boats of Narvaez and the contador Henriquez we have already referred to. Cabeca de Vaca's company, with those from Castillo's boat, numbered about ninety persons. In the capsizing of their boats they had lost nearly all their clothing. To find food for this number of hungry men was no small task. Some Indians came to them and gave them fish and fruits; yet, although they were on the shore of a sea abounding at all times with fish and oysters, they seem to have been too unskilled to obtain them, and cold and naked, with abundance to be had from the sea, they waited in helplessness on the shore for death to relieve their sufferings.

Four of the stoutest started on foot to go to Panuco as messengers to obtain succor. They still had the idea that Panuco was not far distant. The four never returned nor reached their destination. In a few days cold, hunger, and stormy weather had reduced the company to fifteen. De Vaca well named the place *Isla del Malhado*, the Island of Misfortune. The descriptions of localities by De Vaca are too indefinite for us to now

identify them. The disastrous locality where this great tragedy of human suffering occurred was somewhere not far west of the mouths of the Mississippi. The survivors, Cabeca de Vaca and the others, owed their preservation to an idea which had obtained among the Indians that the white men were skilled in the healing art, and, whether they would or no, they were forced to become medicine men. Their success as such exceeded their expectations. De Vaca thus describes their mode of treating the sick, which was "to bless them, to breathe upon them, recite a Pater Noster and an Ave Maria, praying earnestly to God that he would give them health, and influence them to do some great good in his mercy," and, he piously adds, "that he willed that all those for whom we supplicated should, directly after we made the sign of the cross over them, tell the others that they were sound and well." After De Vaca left these Indians he engaged in the business of an itinerant trader, carrying shells and conchs from the coast, and exchanging them for skins, arrow-heads, pigments, and other articles in the interior.

He remained six years among the coast Indians thus employed, always looking forward to some avenue of escape, gathering information of localities and peoples which might aid him in finding his way back to civilization. His occupation of trader gave him a great deal of freedom in going about, but he suffered at times greatly from want of food and clothing ; but he says he was always welcomed and furnished with food when the natives had any. For three or four months in every year the Indians lived in plenty on the Indian fig and nuts in season, but in the winter had little to live on, and had no fixed habitations or cultivated fields.

A singular custom is mentioned of one of the tribes, that they suckled their children until they were twelve years old, and the reason given was that the children might not suffer in times of scarcity of food. De Vaca, Castillo, Dorantes, and Estevanico were held in bondage by different but neighboring tribes. Of

the fourteen who left the Isle of Malhado, nearly all, after months of captivity, were killed, and there remained only the four last named, who managed to join each other when their tribes came together for their annual repast on the prickly pears. They had become thoroughly versed in the language and customs of the Indians, and, having gone unclothed, had come to resemble them in color and general appearance, and had learned something of the character of the regions which lay west of them towards Mexico, in reaching which now lay their only hope of escape. Having finally managed to agree upon their plans, they appointed the full of the moon in September for their flight. They left together, and soon reached another tribe, by whom they were received with many demonstrations of joy, on account of their reputation as medicine men, "having already heard of their success in healing the sick and the miracles which the Lord had performed through them." On the evening of their arrival Castillo cured a native instantly of a severe headache, which added to their respect for the Christians. As the weather was becoming colder, and fruits were nearly out of season, they decided to remain with these people until spring. They went with them several days in search of a fruit resembling vetches. Arriving on the banks of a river, they cured five very sick Indians by their prayers and were liberally rewarded. But they accomplished still more, if what the Indians told Cabeza de Vaca is to be believed, for they claimed that one who was dead had come to life again after his efforts and prayers. The four Christians now passed from tribe to tribe in a sort of triumphal progress, loaded with gifts and blessings by those whose friends they had healed. But this was not always the case; sometimes they had the sharpest pains of hunger to endure, and were obliged to go into thickets to obtain fuel, where the thorns excoriated their naked bodies. They shed their skins like snakes twice a year, and suffered intensely from the cold. They were at one time glad to buy three

dogs, which they ate with relish, and which greatly renewed their strength. The people on the coast they found more cruel than the people in the interior, and so kept far to the northwest of the nearest route to Mexico, a safer but longer route. After months of travel, skirting the mountain ranges, they one day saw an Indian with a sword buckle. This was a ray of light to them, and, being eagerly asked where he obtained it, he said that some men with beards like themselves had come into their country, who had horses and swords. Soon afterwards they had more certain intelligence of the Spaniards, and joyfully pressed on in the direction indicated. Their journey soon gave them palpable evidence of where the Christians had been; the abandoned homes and untilled fields of the native Mexican inhabitants, who had fled in terror from the ruthless forays of the Spanish soldiery, attested the vicinity of the white marauders. The poor natives had fled to the mountains to avoid death or slavery at the hands of the unchristian emissaries of Spain.

Three days afterwards De Vaca and his comrades reached a Mexican village twelve leagues from the California Gulf, and were now in the province known as Sonora, having traversed the whole continent on foot from Louisiana to the Gulf of California, a distance of more than three thousand miles. Their reception by an armed squad of cavalry was hardly what they had expected. The first use Alcarez, the captain of the cavalry, wished to make of them was to seize the Indians who had guided and befriended De Vaca and his companions as slaves, and to entice as many more as possible. De Vaca succeeded in releasing the Indians by bribing the Spanish captain, and was carried under a sort of arrest to Culiacan, where Diaz, the alcalde and commander of the province, resided. This officer received them graciously. At Compostella, Guzman, the governor of the province, provided them with clothing, and sent them on to the City of Mexico, where they were received with favor by Cortez, and from thence they passed on to Vera Cruz,

where they embarked on a treasure-ship for Spain, and, having barely escaped capture by a French corsair on the way, reached Lisbon on the 15th of August, 1537, a little more than ten years from the time that Narvaez, proudly bearing his commission of adelantado, had sailed from Spain at the head of his expedition, glowing with anticipations of great things to be accomplished and great fame to be won. His bones had long lain at the bottom of the sea, and, of all who accompanied him, four alone survived to carry back the story of his complete and utter failure. Upon De Vaca's arrival in Spain, he addressed "to his sacred, imperial, and catholic majesty" an interesting narrative of his adventures, with observations upon the countries he had traversed, and the manners and customs of their inhabitants. He desired the privilege of returning to Florida as adelantado, but other parties of greater influence and position were seeking this honor, and De Vaca had to content himself with the appointment of governor of La Plata, from which he returned a few years later in disgrace.

His narrative of the expedition and of the shipwreck of Narvaez, and of his own personal adventures subsequently, is exceedingly interesting as containing the observations of the first European who traversed the region now known as the Cotton States, and one of the first, if not the first, of white men who stood on the banks of the Mississippi. His story, moreover, has personal interest in its relation of the endurance and sagacity by which for so many years he maintained himself among savage people, and the great determination he exhibited in making a journey of thousands of miles through an unknown country, and at last reaching his fellow countrymen in Mexico; a journey which, considering all the circumstances, has never been paralleled by any other of which we have any knowledge.

CHAPTER VI

The strange attraction Florida had for adventurers—The stories told of its riches and advantages.

A.D. 1538

THOSE who have had occasion to consult the relations of the early adventurers who attempted the conquest or colonization of Florida cannot fail to have been struck with the fact that the country is eulogized by them all as a very rich and fertile country. Thus, in the English translation of the relation of the Portuguese Gentleman, by Hakluyt, it is said, “wherein are truly observed the riches and fertilities of these parts, abounding with things necessary, pleasant, and profitable for the life of man.” And in the same work it is said that Cabeza de Vaca reported, upon his return to Spain, “that it was the richest country of the world.” Doubtless, to most persons, this will seem so absurd and exaggerated as to cast discredit upon the veracity of the narrator. But this flattering estimate of the country by the early explorers and voyagers may be explained upon grounds perfectly consistent with the idea of sincerity on their part. It must be recollected, in the first place, that the name of Florida then designated a vast extent of country, stretching from the Gulf of Mexico northwards towards unknown regions. The divisions of the country, as marked upon the maps, were Florida at the south, extending to the north of the Chesapeake, and meeting what was afterwards called New France. In speaking of Florida, therefore, in those days, reference was had to a much larger scope of country than is now designated by the name. The main object of all expeditions

at that day was the discovery of precious metals, and, coming from the old world, men had no standard of comparison by which to measure the agricultural value of the new. The shores of Florida presented to their eyes a more grateful and pleasing prospect than the sands of the *Tierra Caliente* of Mexico or the arid mesquite groves of South America. Let us suppose for a moment a vessel, long tempest-tossed upon the wild waste of waters, entering one of the harbors of Florida. As the shores are approached, there opens a gentle and placid bay, land-locked, and reflecting with glassy stillness the shadows of the evergreen towering trees of the forest. The fleeting clouds of heaven pass over its polished surface, and changing points of beauty are being constantly developed. The white-winged water-fowl skim quietly along its surface, the gracefully waving moss droops from the hanging boughs, pleasant coves and sylvan retreats border its banks. The appearances upon the land are equally flattering ; the green vegetation, even in midwinter, gives a vernal beauty to the landscape. The evergreen forests, filled with birds of song and beauty ; the magnolia grandiflora, with its glistening leaves and splendid flowers ; the tall palms, with their leafy canopies ; the stalwart live-oak, the mournful cypress, the brilliant dogwood and bright yellow honeysuckle—all give an air of enchantment and beauty to the scene. The antlers of the noble buck and the glossy plumage of the wild turkey of the forest signal both food and noble pastime. An Oriental and tropical richness and profusion of vegetable life seem to invite to enjoyment and ease. The voyagers ascend the gentle current of the placid rivers, and new beauties are met at every turn. They seem to float amid flowers and perfume ; the drooping vines, trailing in the water, mingle with water-plants of various tints ; everything is tinged with richness and beauty, and from some captured savage they hear always of the gold of some distant province which animates their hopes and expectations.

Is it strange that such a country should, where everything was new and marvelous and exaggerated, impart, without much license of the imagination, a pleasant glow of beauty and richness to the narrations of those who for the first time landed on its coasts ?

The progress of discovery and of conquest had gone on in the south with almost uninterrupted success ; a great and unexplored region was known to exist at the north, and the imagination had full scope to create for itself new fields for the acquisition of glory and wealth.



PORTRAIT OF THE LADY ISABELLA, WIFE OF DE SOTO

CHAPTER VII

The story of how the famous Cavalier Hernando de Soto undertook the conquest of Florida—His landing at Tampa Bay—The romantic story of Juan Ortiz.

A.D. 1539

PANFILO DE NARVAEZ had miserably perished with all his noble men-at-arms and splendid equipments, demonstrating none of the great qualities necessary to insure success in such undertakings, enlisting, indeed, our pity, but in no way our admiration.

Cabeca de Vaca had returned to Spain, and in an enigmatical way gave it to be understood that Florida was a very rich country ; but he must not discover all he knew, as he wished to go back, and to obtain the government of it from the king. But a much greater man than himself, or Narvaez, or any of their predecessors, had already planned an expedition for its conquest ; no less a personage than Hernando de Soto, one of the most renowned cavaliers of the day. There was at that time no man who occupied a more exalted position at the Spanish court than De Soto.

He was a native of Villa Nueva de Baccarota, near Xerez, and was of a good family. Entering into the service of Arias D'Avilas, better known as Pedrarias, then governor of the West Indies, he was soon promoted to the command of a troop of horse, and was sent by D'Avilas with one hundred men and a supply of horses to join Pizarro, then on his way to undertake the conquest of Peru.

The native qualities of the young cavalier early displayed

themselves, and he soon rose to be second in command. With a small force he captured the Inca, and left two thousand slain upon the field.

After the complete subjugation of Peru, he withdrew with a splendid booty of one hundred and eighty thousand ducats, which had fallen to his share, and, with some valiant comrades, returned to Spain in 1536. It is said that he had fallen in love with Pedrarias's daughter, some sixteen years previously, before he left Spain, and that they had remained constant in their affection, but her father was opposed to their union. Pedrarias being now dead, De Soto married the Lady Isabella, and, on the strength of the gold he had brought from Peru, lived in great state for two years at the Spanish court. After sixteen years of active adventure, and being still a comparatively young man, De Soto longed for a more active life, and procured the appointment of governor of Cuba and adelantado of Florida, and was made a marquis of Spain. Notwithstanding the many visits to its shores, very little was known of the interior of the extensive region called Florida. It was still believed that there was somewhere to be found a passage across to the Pacific, and that a country even richer than Mexico itself existed to the north of that part of Mexico which had been explored. The prestige of De Soto's name and reputation, and the success which had hitherto attended his adventures; the wealth which he had brought with him, no doubt greatly exaggerated by common report, and the lavish prodigality with which he lived, attracted to his standard a splendid retinue of followers, burning for adventures and eager to share in the booty which should fall to those who participated in the conquest of new regions. He invited De Vaca to join him, but that sagacious traveler declined to do so at his own expense. The Lady Isabella accompanied De Soto to Cuba, where he proposed to organize his expedition. While making his large preparations, he sent two small vessels to the coast of Florida to discover the ports suit-

able for making a landing. They returned, bringing with them two Indians, who gave De Soto by signs to understand that there was much gold in Florida, which delighted the governor and all his companions, thinking they were about to occupy the richest country yet discovered. His preparations being finally completed, he left Cuba on May 18, 1539, and on the 25th landed in the bay now known as Tampa Bay, to which he gave the name of Espiritu Santo. The number disembarked was one thousand men-at-arms, three hundred and fifty horses, twelve priests, and a few friars, a force far exceeding in character and numbers any that had previously gone forth in any expedition. Landing in the lower part of Tampa Bay, as their vessels could not go up to the head of the bay, they marched up by land to an Indian town, the site of the present town of Tampa. The house of the chief was upon an artificial eminence, which, we have no reason to doubt, was the large Indian mound at Tampa, which still remains, after more than three hundred years, to awaken the interest of the antiquary and attest the truth of ancient chroniclers.

While at this place, the two Indians whom they had been relying upon as guides and interpreters escaped, to the great disappointment of De Soto. From some captured women, however, he learned that a Spaniard left by Narvaez was in the keeping of a neighboring chief. This man was Juan Ortiz, the history of whose ten years' sojourn among the Indians would have been of itself a most interesting one, had he possessed the skill to write it, or had he escaped with his life to Spain to relate it more fully.

THE STORY OF JUAN ORTIZ

It will be recalled that Narvaez had landed in a bay, which he had named "The Holy Cross," a few miles north of Tampa Bay. Before commencing his march into the interior, he had

sent one of his smaller vessels back to Cuba, to carry intelligence to his wife, and on board of this vessel went Juan Ortiz. Having arrived safely in Cuba and taken supplies, the vessel was sent back by Narvaez's wife, with the expectation of having it meet him at some point on the coast. Having reached the vicinity where Narvaez had landed, they sought information of Narvaez's movements of some of the Indians, and were told that he had left there and marched northward. Observing a letter fixed in the cleft of a stick on shore, they asked some Indians whom they saw near by to bring it to them, which they refused to do, but made signs to have them come for it. The others refusing to go, Juan Ortiz, then a youth of eighteen, with a comrade took a boat and went on shore, where they were immediately surrounded by Indians, who lay hidden near by, and were taken to their chief, Ucita, who was greatly enraged against the Spaniards on account of injuries he had received from Narvaez. The companion of Ortiz was killed at once, having offered some resistance. Those on board the vessel, seeing this, at once raised anchor, put out to sea, and returned to Cuba, leaving Ortiz to his fate.

The chief ordered Ortiz to be bound hand and foot, and stretched out upon a staging of pales, and a fire to be built under him, to slowly roast him alive. The cruel chief had a beautiful daughter, about the same age as Ortiz, who, when she saw the dreadful fate to which the young Spaniard was doomed, was moved to that pity and compassion which, to the credit of her sex be it spoken, are always aroused in woman's breast by misfortune and suffering. Narvaez had been guilty, it appears, of acts of atrocious cruelty towards the mother of the chief, and he felt the strongest desire for vengeance upon the hated race.

Overcoming her own natural resentment, and braving the anger of her father, the young girl threw herself at his feet and implored him to spare the life of the captive youth, urging upon him that this smooth-cheeked boy had done him no injury, and



INDIAN PRINCESS SAVING THE LIFE OF JUAN ORTIZ

that it was more noble for a brave and lofty chief like himself to keep the youth a captive than to sacrifice so mere a lad to his revenge. The intercession of the noble maid was successful, and the captive youth, who had already suffered painfully upon his fiery bed, was loosed and his burned flesh cared for by the gentle hands of her who had saved his life. He was set to guard the place where the Indians placed their dead upon scaffolds as their sepulture. Wolves and catamounts beset the place, while Ortiz stood guard through the lonely watches of the night. For a long period he kept the wild beasts away, but at last it happened that one night the body of a child of one of the chiefs was carried off by a wolf. Ortiz threw a dart at the animal and wounded it, but was not aware that the child had been taken. The next morning the loss of the child's body was discovered and Ortiz was ordered to be put to death, but the Indians, following on the track of the wolf, discovered the body of the child and the wolf lying dead just beyond it. The chief, being thus satisfied of the faithful watch kept by Ortiz, received him again into favor.

Three years afterwards a fierce war having broken out between his protector and a neighboring tribe, in order to propitiate the evil spirit, it was their custom to sacrifice some one, and Ortiz was selected as the victim. His faithful friend, the chief's daughter, came at night and warned him that he would be sacrificed the next day. She advised him to seek the protection of Mucoso, a neighboring chief, whose wife she expected in time to become, and who would, she said, receive and protect him. At the dead hour of night she came and guided him half a league on his way.

He traveled all night, and in the morning came to a river where Mucoso's territory began, and, being unable to speak the language of the tribe, he came very near being killed by the first party of Indians he encountered, but, fortunately for him, there was one of the Indians who could understand him and who paci-

fied the others. Mucoso himself being near at hand, came and met him, and, learning by whom he had been sent to his care, received him cordially and promised him protection, and that, if any Christians should ever come to the country, he would let him go back with them. It is said that Ucita demanded Ortiz to be surrendered to him, and that Mucoso's refusal caused a breach between them and prevented for many years his attaining as his bride Ortiz's fair protector, sacrificing his love to his high sense of honor.

Ortiz remained with Mucoso eight years, and conformed in all respects to their mode of life. He became inured to going unclothed, and acquired their language, almost losing familiarity with his own.

Cortez sent out a party to endeavor to find him, as he very greatly needed his services as an interpreter, as also on account of his knowledge of the country. Mucoso having learned of De Soto's landing, sent Ortiz, accompanied by several Indians, to meet the Spaniards. The two parties met on the way, and the Spaniards at once made an attack on the Indians, who all fled except Ortiz, who called out that he was a Spaniard, and told them who he was, and that those who accompanied him were friends and bore friendly greetings and offer of service from Mucoso.

De Soto was very glad to obtain Ortiz, and his first question was whether he could tell him what part of the country was rich in gold, but he could only tell him of what was reported among the Indians, and, as he had spent his whole captivity in a narrow area, he was of no great service as a guide or interpreter after they had passed on northwards of the lands of Ucita and Mucoso.

The story of Ortiz reminds us of that of Pocahontas and Captain John Smith at the first settlement of Jamestown nearly one hundred years later, except that Ortiz was young and fair. The name of this fair princess is given, I know not by what

authority, as Ulelah, and that of her father as Ucita, and also as chief of Hirrihigua. These names ought to be commemorated in South Florida. Juan Ortiz died after De Soto crossed the Mississippi and not very long before the death of De Soto himself.

CHAPTER VIII

De Soto's march through East Florida—Battles with the Indians—Arrival in Middle Florida.

A.D. 1539

WHILE De Soto was encamped at Hirrihigua, Mucoso, the protector of Ortiz, came to see him and spent a few days in his camp, furnishing him with guides for his journey. Porcallo and some others returned to Cuba in the vessels ; they were instructed to obtain supplies and follow up the coast to some good harbor, where they might be met by those marching by land. Before leaving the Bay of Espiritu Santo, De Soto sent out small detachments to examine the country, and, having received a favorable report from Gallegos, who was in command of a party which had gone in a northwesterly direction, De Soto followed in two days to Mucoso and sent back for the main forces to join him.

They had come prepared to make a settlement in the country, and, among other things, had brought three hundred head of swine. One can well imagine that it was not very easy to march an army encumbered with such animals through the wilds of Florida. Their progress was slow, and they were not very well provisioned for the journey ; they found few fields, and the country low. Passing several small Indian towns, and having crossed the Withlacoochee with some difficulty, they came to Cale, or Ocali, situated, it is supposed, in the neighborhood of the present Ocala. At Ocali they found an abundance



PORTRAIT OF HERNANDO DE SOTO

of corn or maize, as well as plums, grapes, nuts, and acorns. After leaving Ocali they entered the domain of a great chief named Vitachuco.

Leaving part of his force at Ocali, De Soto, with fifty horsemen and sixty men on foot, pushed forward to reach Appalachee, which they were told by the Indians of Ocali was a seven days' journey and a very rich and abundant country, the same story which had been told Narvaez. After several days' march and crossing a river, they came into the Appalachee country, which appears to have designated the country west of the Suwanee River. At a town called Vitachuco four hundred Indians made a concerted attack upon De Soto's people, but were repulsed and driven into a lake, where they swam beyond reach of the Spaniards, but, being surrounded, were compelled to come out and surrender themselves. The prisoners were divided among the Spaniards as servants, and were led with chains. All the rest who were not wanted as slaves were tied to a stake in the market-place and shot to death by the Indians whom the Spaniards had brought along with them. The Spaniards had come with a supply of chains and iron collars for the purpose of securing their captives, and they made them carry all their baggage, grind their maize, and procure fuel for them. They came to several Indian towns and found many cultivated fields, but no precious metals. They advanced as far west as the Ocklocknee, and were shown the place where Narvaez built his boats. De Soto here, no doubt, received more correct information from the Indians as to the source of the supply of the little gold they possessed, and was directed to the hills of upper Georgia.

They encountered a large body of Indians, armed with bows and arrows, who were easily defeated ; he afterwards traveled several days, passing morasses and a low, boggy country, until he came to a well-settled and fertile country, and reached a town called Anhayea. Here he remained some time, and learned of a

better region to the northeast, governed by a queen. Their route now lay through Georgia, passing by a town named Yulaha, which may have been Alapaha, and came to a great river, probably the Altamaha, which they crossed with some difficulty. They afterwards came to a town called Capachiqui. The country was populous, as may be inferred from the fact that a chief sent De Soto two thousand Indians, with a present of many conies and partridges, bread of maize, two hens, and many dogs, which were as highly prized by them as though they had been fat wethers. Feminine chieftainship is an unfrequent occurrence among savage tribes, but in the eastern part of South Carolina the Spaniards came into the territories of an Indian queen, invested with great beauty and grace, who is styled by the old chroniclers "the Ladie of the countrie."

Upon De Soto's approach he was met by a lady ambassadress, a sister of her Majesty, who made him a speech of welcome, and was followed soon after by the queen, borne under a canopy by her attendants and accompanied by some of her principal men. She brought handsome presents of mantles and skins, and took from around her own neck a necklace of pearls and gracefully placed it around the neck of De Soto.

They said that they were two days' journey from the sea, and that other white men had been on the coast near there many years before, who had quarreled among themselves and gone away, referring to D'Ayllon's expedition in 1520. Many of the Spaniards wished to remain in this good country belonging to the fair queen, but De Soto was unwilling to return to Spain or Hispaniola without having more gold and pearls to exhibit than they yet had been able to obtain. He therefore determined to pursue his quest for a richer country and richer gains. He was no doubt now told of the gold found in the streams coming down from the mountainous regions of upper Georgia. Perceiving that the Spaniards valued the pearls, the queen

advised the governor to have some graves searched, in which he would find many. They accordingly sought the graves, and there gathered four measures of pearls, weighing two hundred and ninety-two pounds, and little birds and babies made of them. These Indians were brown, well made, and more civil than any others seen in Florida, and all of them shod and clothed.

The fair princess seems to have been ill requited for her hospitable reception of the Spaniards. Held as a hostage, De Soto insisted upon her accompanying them, which she did for many days, until one day, turning aside into the forest upon some slight pretext, she disappeared, not without suspicion of design, as there chanced to be missing at the same time one of the Spaniards, who, report said, had joined the "ladie" for weal or for wo, and returned with her to her people. De Soto's march then carried him back into Georgia, towards the mountains and the Etowah and Oostanaula Rivers and the region near the Tennessee. From thence he moved southward into Alabama. By one tribe, it was said, he was furnished with a present of seven hundred hens, and by another with twenty baskets of mulberries, and at another place three hundred dogs were brought to him.

During all this long march through Georgia, South Carolina, and Alabama he seems to have obtained sufficient supplies for his men and horses from the Indian fields and store-houses. On one occasion only they killed one of the swine they had brought with them.

CHAPTER IX

The battle of Mauvilla—Loss of their pearls and baggage—Maldonado's arrival at Ochusi concealed from his troops, and De Soto decides to continue the expedition—He crosses the Mississippi—His death and burial—The Spaniards build boats and reach Mexico.

A.D. 1540

DE SOTO, pursuing his march to the southwest, finally came to a large Indian town called Mauvilla, which was the scene of a sanguinary combat. The Spaniards had brought with them a large number of Indian slaves to carry their baggage, including the pearls they had obtained. Having encamped near the town, these Indian slaves were suddenly surprised and carried into town with the baggage. De Soto determined to strike a blow which should terrify and overcome the natives, set fire to the habitations, consuming alike the stores of the Indians and his own baggage with its treasure of pearls. The number of Indians slain in this encounter is stated to have been twenty-five hundred, and the Spanish loss eighteen killed and one hundred and fifty wounded; twelve horses were slain and seventy wounded. After this battle, which was fought with such great loss on both sides, De Soto learned of the arrival of Maldonado from Cuba with the vessel sent by his wife, the Lady Isabella, at Ochusi, a port on the Gulf of Mexico, six days' journey from Mauvilla. Ochusi was an Indian town on Pensacola Bay, and Mauvilla was on the Alabama River, probably one hundred miles or so from its mouth, near its junction with the Tombigbee. The opportunity was thus presented for De Soto to safely return to Cuba with the remainder of his forces. He had lost,

from sickness and those slain in battle, one hundred and two of his men, and at Mauvilla his brother-in-law and nephew, and also three valuable officers and men of note. De Soto, however, was resolute to his purpose, and instructed Juan Ortiz to keep Maldonado's arrival a secret, because, he said, he had not accomplished the purpose of his expedition, and because, his pearls having been destroyed, and having neither gold nor pearls to carry, he was unwilling either to return or send any news of himself until he had found some rich country. And thus he deliberately turned his face forever from his native land and from all the wealth and distinction of his vice-royalty in Cuba, intent on doing something worthy of his great name and reputation. Maldonado long waited the arrival of De Soto at Ochusi, and at last, despairing of meeting him, turned his vessels sorrowfully to bear to the Lady Isabella the report of the probable fate which had attended the expedition. Having remained at Mauvilla twenty-eight days, De Soto resumed his march on November the 18th, changing his course to the northwest, sore in body and sore in spirit, having now to meet hostile tribes, who lost no occasion to do him an injury. Night attacks were frequent, and towns were burned over their heads.

Having many water-courses and rivers to cross, they moved slowly, and in March had come to a town in northern Mississippi called Chicaca. While occupying this town a concerted attack was made upon them at night by the natives; the town was simultaneously set on fire in many places, and before anything could be done to extinguish it the Spaniards lost eleven men, fifty horses, and four hundred hogs, which were burned to death. Besides this, they lost a large part of their arms, lances, saddles, and equipments, and also their clothing. As it was winter they suffered also very greatly from cold. To remedy these losses as far as they were able, they put up a forge and tempered anew their swords and made many targets, sad-

dles, and lances. It was not until the 25th of April that they resumed their march, and, after another engagement with the Indians and a march of seventeen days through a poor country, they came to a great river, which they were unable to cross until boats were constructed for the purpose. The great river was said to be half a league broad and very deep, and the current very swift. They had reached the banks of the great river, the Mississippi. It took them twenty days to construct four barges, upon which they at length, with all their force, their horses and the swine which remained, crossed at midnight, meeting with no opposition from the natives. De Soto spent the summer and ensuing autumn in exploring the country bordering on the Mississippi, and wintered, it is supposed, on White River. He here concluded that he would go to the sea-coast and dispatch a vessel to Cuba and another to Mexico, with the view of sending intelligence to his wife, the Lady Isabella, who was then in Cuba, and to obtain another outfit to enable him to further prosecute his expedition. Up to this time he had lost two hundred and fifty men and the same number of horses. About the middle of April he returned to the banks of the Mississippi and sent out parties to ascertain how near they were to the sea. The party was absent some days, and returned with the report that the route along the river was impassable. De Soto was greatly discouraged by their report, and shortly afterwards was attacked by fever.

The gallant chief, who had so long borne up under every trial and discouragement, who had ever responded with alacrity to the call to battle, who bore himself always as a prudent and brave commander, now began to sink into despondency.

The slow and wearing fever daily detracted from his strength, and he soon felt that the hour of his departure from this life was near at hand. He called his followers around him to receive his parting words. He asked their prayers for him that God would forgive his sins, thanked them for the loyal



BURIAL OF DE SOTO

Chapman del

HOWLAND sc

obedience which they had always rendered him, implored their forgiveness for any injuries he might have done any of them, and advised their keeping together in good-fellowship, and that they should choose a successor to whom they would render the same service and obedience they had given him.

Baltazar de Gallegos returned a suitable answer for all the rest, and desired him to name his successor himself, whereupon he named Luis Muscoza de Alvarado as captain and general. The choice was approved without dissent. On the next day, the 21st day of May, 1542, "departed out of this life the valorous, virtuous, and valiant Captain Don Fernando de Soto, Governor of Cuba and Adelantado of Florida," whom, says the chronicler, "fortune advanced as it useth to do others that he might have the higher fall." He was buried near the camp, and it was endeavored to conceal his death, but the Indians suspecting the place of his burial, and in order that none might thereafter do despite to his remains, his body was taken from the grave, and, at a late hour of a dark night, was wrapped in his mantle and conveyed by the dim light of the stars to the middle of the Mississippi and sunk beneath its depths in sorrow and silence, with a low-whispered *De Profundis* from brave and saddened hearts. After the death of De Soto his effects were disposed of at auction, consisting of two men slaves, two women slaves, three horses, and seven hundred hogs. The horses and slaves were sold at two or three ducats, all being sold on credit, payable out of their share of future acquisitions, or out of their revenue when they got back to Spain. It is one of the curious features of this expedition that, landing at Tampa Bay with five hundred hogs, and traveling two thousand miles to Chicaca, where four hundred hogs were burned, leaving only one hundred, they should, in a few months, be possessed of seven hundred.

Muscoza undertook to follow the supposed route of Cabeza de Vaca and reach Mexico, then called New Spain, by land ; but,

after traveling to the southwest for some time, became discouraged and decided to return to the Mississippi and build boats with which to descend the river to the sea and thence along the shore to the Spanish settlements in Mexico.

They had left the river in June and wandered about until December, when they found themselves within two days' journey of it. At first they despaired of being able to build the boats that they would need, having neither nails or tools or cloth for sails, or anything to caulk them with. However, it seemed the only chance for escape, and, finding a suitable place, called Minoya, the governor commanded them "to gather all the chains which they had brought to lead Indians with," and collect timber and materials for building boats.

Fortunately, there were found among their number a ship carpenter, four or five carpenters, and two caulkers, and a cooper. By the aid of these they built seven boats. On the 2d of July, 1543, three hundred and twenty-two Spaniards embarked at Minoya, carrying with them twenty-two horses. Afterwards they killed all but four of the horses, which were left on the shore, drying the meat to serve for the voyage. They were occasionally attacked by the Indians as they floated down the river, and on one occasion eleven Spaniards were surrounded and cut off. They at length reached the sea at the mouth of the Mississippi, having been seventeen days on the way. After some hesitation as to whether they should try the open sea or sail along the coast, they decided upon the latter as being the safest. After a tedious journey of fifty-two days, they at length reached Panuco, now Tampico, having lost none of their number except the eleven captured by the Indians shortly after they started. When they arrived they were dressed in skins, tanned and dyed. Their first act on their arrival was to go to church and return thanks for their deliverance. Out of the thousand brave men who landed with

De Soto at Tampa Bay, three hundred and eleven arrived in Mexico.

We can hardly trace this long journey of De Soto and his followers through unknown regions without astonishment at the hardihood and perseverance which under such circumstances could enable these unacclimated Europeans to traverse thousands of miles unprovided with means of subsistence, marching from tribe to tribe and country to country, wherever the information of the hour produced hope for success. So day by day and week by week proceeded their march. Wherever an Indian field was found its harvest was gathered, and wherever an Indian granary or storehouse was discovered its contents were speedily appropriated. Surrounded by thousands of enemies, they ever forced their way onward. For three years and a half this long march proceeded, without reinforcements or supplies. This fact itself speaks volumes for the energy and generalship of the great leader. With but a thousand men, De Soto conquered and overran countries containing numerous savage tribes, well armed after their own fashion with bows, arrows, and clubs, and for over three years subsisted his troops and maintained the discipline of his forces without, so far as we know, a single murmur of discontent from his followers.

CHAPTER X

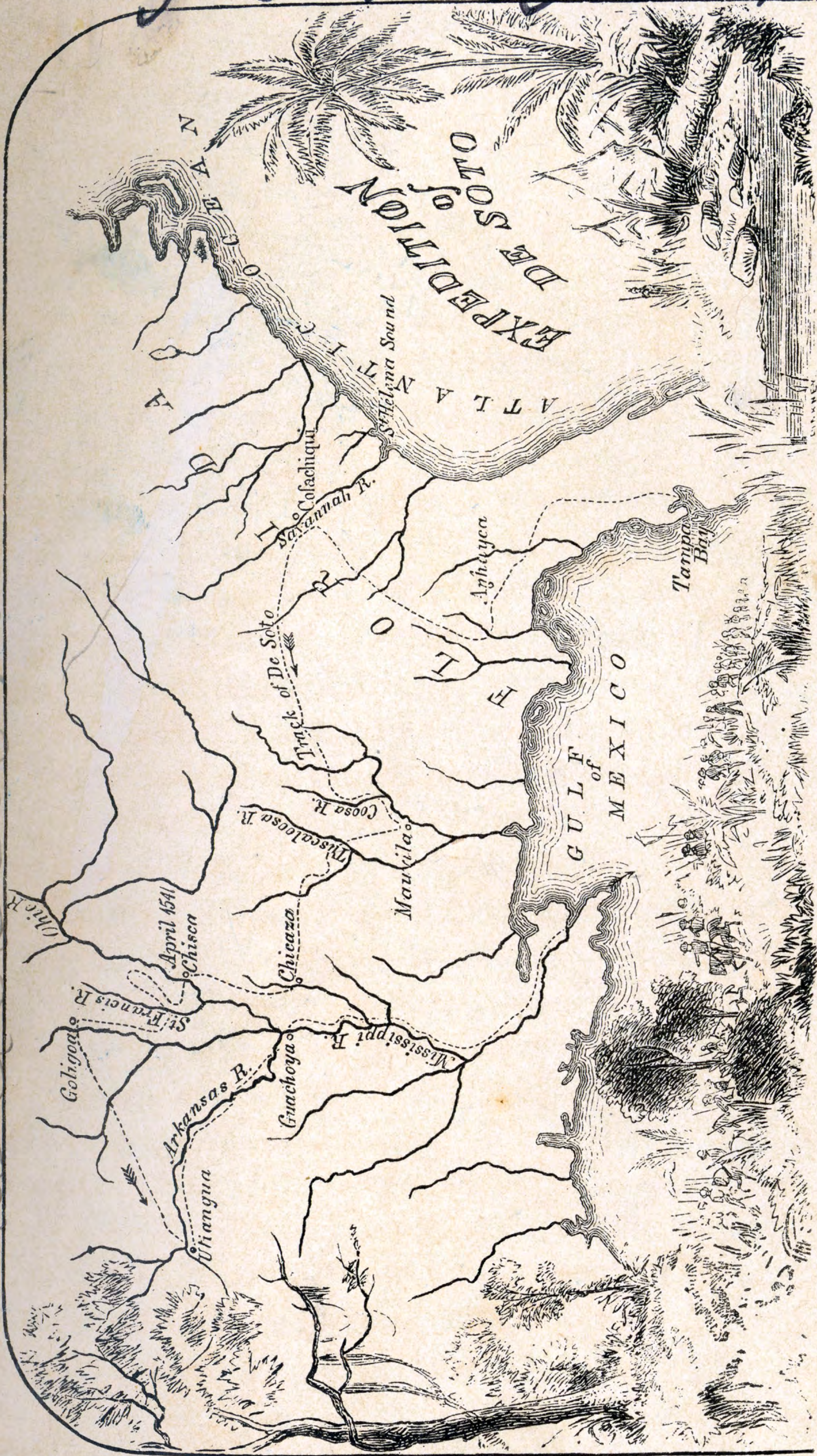
Route of De Soto's expedition through Florida and his subsequent journey to the Mississippi River.

A.D. 1539-1542

THE remarkable adventures which De Soto encountered, enhanced by his personal character and prowess, have invested the expedition of this gallant cavalier with unusual interest, and have excited the curiosity of many to determine the route pursued by him and the locality of the most important events of his journey, beginning upon the beautiful Espiritu Santo Bay, now known as Tampa Bay, and finally ending upon the banks of the Mississippi. The task of tracing the steps of De Soto is by no means void of difficulty. We have to encounter not only the uncertainties of connecting names with localities imperfectly described, but have to reconcile descriptions given in three separate narratives exhibiting differences and discrepancies. The most voluminous of these is that of Garcilaso de la Vega, commonly called L'Inca; the next in extent is that of a gentleman of Elvas, who is called the Portuguese Gentleman, his name being unknown, and the third and the briefest is the narrative of Louis de Biedma. The point where De Soto landed is stated by all to have been at Espiritu Santo Bay, on the western coast of Florida, a beautiful sheet of water extending into the land some thirty-six miles, its depth diminishing towards the head of the bay.

De Soto, on account of the shallowness of the water, landed on the southern shore, a few miles below the present city of

J. Kate Poston.



ROUTE OF DE SOTO'S EXPEDITION

J. Kate Poston.

Tampa. Their first day's march was to the Indian town of Hirrihigua, two leagues northeasterly, and the location of which, as described by La Vega, corresponds very well with the present city of Tampa. The village consisted, it is said, of several large houses built of wood and thatched with palm leaves. In an opposite part of the village, near the water, upon an artificial mound so constructed as to serve as a fortress, stood the dwelling of the cacique or chief. From Hirrihigua, proceeding in a northwest course, at the end of two days De Soto came to the village of Mucoso, the chief who had befriended Ortiz; this may have been Hichipucsassa. They next, at a distance of twenty-five leagues from Hirrihigua, reached a town they called Urriberracaxi, which was probably on the Withlacoochee, as they there crossed a river. They next reached a town they called Ocali, which was on the banks of a river. This location is uncertain, but has been supposed to indicate the neighborhood of the present town of Ocala and the Ocklawaha. From Ocali they went to Vitachuco. From Osachile they marched three days, and on the fourth came to the Great Morass. Passing this, they entered a fruitful country covered with fields of grain and containing many villages. In four days after passing the Great Morass they came to the village of Anhayea. The line of march from Vitachuco west would carry them to the Suwanee, near Suwanee Old Town; thence, bearing too far to the southwest, they were involved in one of the great coast swamps, but, passing northwesterly, then entered the fertile region embraced in the present counties of Madison, Jefferson, and Leon, and Anhayea is thought to have been in the vicinity of Tallahassee. From Anhayea two exploring parties were sent out, one north and one south. The party which went north returned, reporting very favorably of a rich and well-inhabited country. The party which went down towards the coast found a sterile country, full of ponds and swamps. These descriptions would correspond very well with

the country north and south of Monticello or Tallahassee. The village of Aute was twelve leagues from Anhayea and not far from the Bay of Appalachee. De Soto sent back to the Bay of Espiritu Santo and had his vessels brought into this bay. Afterwards he sent vessels coasting westwardly. At a distance of seventy leagues they entered a beautiful bay, called by them Ochusi, which evidently was Pensacola Bay. They reported that it was land-locked and completely sheltered by bold shores, and large enough for a fleet to anchor in. De Soto does not appear to have crossed the Appalachicola or the Chattahoochee River, but, having made an appointment for vessels to be sent from Cuba to meet him in the fall at Ochusi, he determined to proceed to a province to the northeast abounding in gold, pearls, etc. Leaving Anhayea, he traveled northeast, and, at the end of three days, came to Copachique; this was probably on the Suwanee River. Two days' farther travel brought them to Atapaha. This name so closely resembles Alapaha that it is reasonable to suppose that they are the same, and that the town was on the river of that name, which, passing through a portion of Georgia, discharges itself into the Suwanee in Hamilton County, Florida. Traveling still in the same direction, it is supposed that they crossed successively the Altamaha and the Savannah River and reached the region of middle Georgia between Milledgeville and Augusta. They marched thence northwardly to the mineral region of upper Georgia, where they had been informed that the gold which they saw in the possession of the natives had been procured. De Soto then passed to the Etowah River, and visited a large Indian town situated at the confluence of the Coosa and Etowah, called Chiapa, the location now occupied by the city of Rome, Ga. He then passed southwardly through a rich and fertile country called Coosa, and eventually reached Maubila, or Mauvilla, which was situated, it is supposed, at Choctaw Bluff. He here heard of the arrival of his vessels at Ochusi, on Pensacola Bay, and at first contemplated

going to meet them, but, fearing that once near his vessels his men would insist on leaving the country, he determined to pursue his march westward. At Mauvilla he was not more than one hundred and fifty miles from Pensacola. His course was then northwestward to the Mississippi, and it is conjectured that he crossed it a few miles below Memphis.

CHAPTER XI

An account of some other expeditions to Florida—The martyrdom of Franciscan missionaries—Don Tristan de Luna's march into Alabama and Tennessee.

A.D. 1549-1560

UPON the arrival of Alvarado in Mexico with the remnant of De Soto's expedition the Spanish viceroy, Mendoza, undertook to get them to join an expedition he was desirous of sending to Florida, but they were unwilling to again encounter the perils from which they had so recently escaped.

A ship carrying home, treasure from Mexico to Spain was wrecked, A.D. 1543, on the east coast of Florida, and, of two hundred persons who reached the shore, all were killed by the Indians except a few who were kept as slaves. One of these men eventually made his way to the French at Fort Caroline twenty years afterwards.

In the year 1549 four brothers of the Franciscan order went on a vessel from Havana to Espiritu Santo Bay (Tampa Bay) to labor for the conversion of Indians. Two of their number, Fathers Penalosa and Fuentes, landed and undertook to penetrate the country, but were met and immediately killed by the Indians. The others remained on board of the vessel, and, while anchored there, a Spaniard named Juan Munoz came out to the ship and was received on board. He had, he said, been a servant to Captain Calderon, of De Soto's expedition, and had been then captured by the Indians, and had been with them ten years, and, seeing this vessel, had gladly availed himself of the opportunity for escape.

Notwithstanding a knowledge of the fate which had overtaken Fathers Penalosa and Fuentes, Father de Bastro, who was the head of the party, determined to try his own powers of persuasion upon the hostile natives. He insisted upon landing alone among the dusky throng of warriors who now lined the shore. Scarcely had he reached the shore before he fell beneath the clubs of the savages, a martyr to his zeal, and the sands of this beautiful bay were thus early reddened with the blood of one whose Christian devotion and unselfishness formed a marked contrast with the character of those whose lust for gold had been almost the sole motive which had brought them to the new world.

The companions of the martyred priests returned to Havana without further effort at communicating with the Indians.

In the year 1552 a Spanish fleet bearing much treasure sailed from Vera Cruz in Mexico, having on board upwards of one thousand souls, and, after leaving Havana, was overtaken by one of those disastrous gales which prevail at times in the southern seas with such disastrous effect. Driven helpless before its resistless power, the fleet, with the exception of one vessel, was cast upon the western shores of Florida, and, of the large number on board, only three hundred reached the shore. Those who escaped to land endeavored to reach Mexico by following the coast. They made rafts to cross the mouths of rivers, and for a while proceeded on their way, but, incessantly harassed by the Indians, overcome with fatigue and want of food, they gradually died by the way, and all perished but one, who was rescued at the point of death by friendly Indians and eventually returned to the Spanish settlement in Mexico to relate the sad story of the shipwreck and death of all his comrades.

Somewhere along the coast of Florida there lie buried beneath the sands the gold and silver of many a wrecked Spanish galleon cast upon its shores, and now and then some hopeful

souls seek for many days the lost treasure in its supposed hiding-place, to find only at last disappointment.

Notwithstanding the disasters which had thus far befallen all who had gone to Florida, the viceroy of New Mexico, in the year 1556, was directed by the Spanish crown to prepare a new expedition for the conquest and settlement of Florida, and, in 1559, there was sent to Pensacola Bay a fleet which had been equipped by the viceroy of Mexico, and sailed from Vera Cruz ; on August 14, 1559, they cast anchor in Pensacola Bay, to which they gave the name of Santa Maria. The expedition was under the command of Don Tristan de Luna, and carried to Florida about one thousand persons, made up of soldiers, sailors, friars and other missionaries. In all these expeditions it is to be noted that the conversion of the natives to the Christian religion was never lost sight of, as one of the objects to be attained, and however misdirected or unsuccessful these efforts were, yet we cannot but recognize the zeal and fidelity with which the missionaries of the cross devoted themselves to this laudable work.

A few days after De Luna's expedition landed, a great storm came up and partially wrecked the vessels, one of which, having gone to sea, was lost with all on board. Their provisions were spoiled on others of the vessels, and they were at once reduced to great distress.

A reconnoitering party started northwesterly and traveled forty days, until they reached a river they could not cross, probably the Tennessee. They came to a large Indian town called Napicnoca, well supplied with provisions. Having sent messengers back to De Luna, he marched his force to that place, and afterwards a party moved onward to a country abounding in chestnut and hickory nuts. The Indians spoke of De Soto's forces having been through and ravaged their country. After wandering around, seeking a rich country for occupation, De Luna's men finally returned to Pensacola to await supplies and

reinforcements. These soon arrived, and De Luna desired to return to the good lands his people had found, with the view of making a settlement, but a majority of his men were determined to leave the country. A considerable number returned to Mexico on the provision vessels, but De Luna remained at Pensacola awaiting instructions from the viceroy, who, discouraged by the reports he received, recalled De Luna and abandoned the project for the settlement and occupation of Florida.

It seems evident that De Luna's forces passed through the comparatively poor pine lands of southern Alabama and reached the border of the richer lands on the Coosa and Tennessee and perhaps the Cumberland River.

The expedition of De Luna possesses much interest as being the first settlement upon and temporary occupation by Europeans, of Pensacola, in 1559--60, and an exploration of Alabama and Tennessee. It was, moreover, the last of the abortive expeditions which for upwards of fifty years had successively visited Florida. De Luna left Pensacola only about a year before Ribaut, in 1562, came to the eastern shore and landed at the mouth of the St. John's and built Charlesfort in South Carolina.

Had this well-equipped expedition of De Luna entered Mobile Bay, and with boats ascended the Alabama River, they would with comparative ease have reached the rich lands of the delta and northern Alabama, and could have placed settlements on the river in easy communication with their vessels at the mouth of the river. This they failed to ascertain, and lost the opportunity of acquiring a foothold in a part of the country which would easily have supported them.

CHAPTER XII

The coming of French Huguenots to Florida under Ribaut—The settlement at Port Royal and its desertion—Escape of the colonists to France.

A.D. 1562

WE have hitherto accompanied through the wilds of Florida the cavaliers of Spain, who, with the sound of the trumpet and the battle cry of Santiago, carried devastation and slaughter along their march. Their principal object was the acquisition of gold, silver, and pearls. A country which promised ample reward to the patient and industrious husbandman had no attraction for them. They desired to conquer and rob the people, not to subdue the soil. They had been corrupted and engorged with the plunder of Mexico and the spoils of Peru. They sought not to create wealth, but to seize and appropriate it wherever found, and it mattered little to them what suffering they caused the unhappy natives of the land if, either by torture or destruction, they could force the discovery of their treasures.

Their efforts in the great region then called Florida had so far proved fruitless. Where they had looked for easy conquest and great reward they had found only privation and toil, and had met generally races fierce and implacable, who lacked only the means of offensive warfare to sweep the invaders from their shores.

Ponce de Leon, D'Ayllon, Narvaez, and their followers, had fled or perished ingloriously, and the remnant of De Soto's forces, baffled in all their efforts, had barely escaped with their lives into Mexico.

The fruitless expedition of De Luna had failed in its purpose, and the whole of the vast country from Mexico to the Polar Seas, and from the Atlantic to the Pacific, at the end of fifty years from the landing of Ponce de Leon, contained not a single settlement of the white race. The dreams of conquest were over, and the mere adventurers were well satisfied to leave in peace that which they had been told was "the richest country in the world." An entirely different class of persons now made their appearance on the shores of Florida, whose principal aim was colonization and settlement. They were of a different race, and had come from different motives.

The weak and vacillating Charles IX. was king of France, and the Admiral de Chastellan, better known as the famous Coligny, was at the head of the Protestant party. Civil war raged between the votaries of the two religious bodies into which the French people were divided.

The transatlantic discoveries and settlements of the Spaniards in Mexico, Peru, and the Spanish Main suggested to the astute mind of the admiral the founding beyond the sea a new empire, which might extend the possessions of France, and at the same time strengthen and, in case of need, afford a refuge to the Huguenots if borne down in their contest at home. A French expedition was fitted out, and sailed in February, 1562, consisting of two good ships, under the command of Capt. Jean Ribaut, an officer of much experience and considerable reputation. A prosperous voyage brought them directly to the coast of Florida, in the neighborhood of St. Augustine. Sailing thence northward, they discovered the entrance of the St. John's River, where they landed, and put up near the mouth of the river a small monument of stone, on which was engraved the arms of France. They named the river the River May, because they entered it on the first day of that month. Reëmbarking, they passed on about ninety leagues to the north, and entered the splendid harbor of Port Royal and anchored. After

examining the country in that vicinity, Ribaut decided to plant his colony at this locality. After a spirited appeal to their patriotism and love of glory, he was able to select from his company twenty-five who were willing to remain as the nucleus of a colony, while he returned to France for reinforcements and supplies.

Before leaving, a fort was erected upon a small island and named Charlesfort. The garrison was placed under the command of Captain Albert. A supply of ammunition and provisions was left, and, with a parting salute of the artillery from the vessels, replied to from the fort, Ribaut's vessels left the infant settlement, and the destinies of New France centered in that little fort. The Indians were friendly, and everything promised fair for the future welfare of the little garrison.

After Ribaut had left, Captain Albert made an excursion to a country called Ouade, probably on the Savannah River, where he was supplied with corn by the chief "and given a number of exceedingly fair pearls, two stones of fine crystal, and certain silver ore which the Indians said was obtained from a part of the country about ten days' distance, and that the people there dig the ore at the foot of a certain high mountain," referring evidently to the mining region of upper Georgia.

It had been the expectation of Ribaut when he left the colony that he would be able to immediately return with a much larger force, provided with everything necessary to establish a permanent settlement. When he reached France civil war was raging; nothing could be done to effect this object, and the little garrison at Charlesfort was for the time obliged to be neglected.

Anxiously did the garrison at Charlesfort await the promised return of Ribaut. Their provisions were becoming exhausted, and they scanned in vain day by day the horizon in the hope of descrying the sails of their countrymen, but none came in view, and with disappointment came discontent. Their

captain became exacting and tyrannical, and the men careless and disobedient. A difficulty arising one day with one Guerlache, a poor drummer, he was ordered by the captain to be hung; another he ordered placed on an island to starve. Alarmed for their own safety, it was determined by the rest to take the life of the captain, which was soon accomplished. After the death of Captain Albert they chose one Nicolas Barré as their captain. Months had passed since Ribaut was to have returned, and, finally despairing of his return, they determined to go back to France. They had no ship carpenter among them, but made out to build a small pinnace. They caulked it with moss, made the cords of palmettoes, and made sails of their shirts and linen. In this miserable little vessel, caulked with moss and with such sails and cordage, this little band ventured to attempt to cross the stormy ocean which separated them from their native land. It would seem as though the first moderate gale would overwhelm their frail bark. They had provided but a meager supply of provisions for their long voyage, and, although the calm weather they experienced was favorable to their safety, they were soon in danger of starvation. Listlessly floating upon the glassy sea, becalmed for many days, they were reduced to terrible extremities, until at last they cast lots as to who should be sacrificed for the preservation of the rest, and, the lot falling on Le Clerc, he was killed, and his flesh divided equally, "a thing so pitiful," says the chronicler, "that my pen is loathe to write it." Providentially they soon after fell in with an English ship and were rescued. It seems wonderful that they should have escaped at all, for probably so crazy a craft never crossed the Atlantic.

The French never returned to reoccupy Charlesfort, and its exact location is not now definitely known, but it is supposed to have been on one of the islands near Beaufort, S. C.

CHAPTER XIII

The second French Huguenot expedition to Florida under René de Laudonnière—The building of Fort Caroline on the St. John's River—Incidents and adventures of the French—The arrival of an English fleet under Sir John Hawkins.

A.D. 1564

THE civil war prevailing in France prevented any immediate steps being taken for the succor and reinforcement of the little band left at Charlesfort. As soon, however, as peace was restored measures were taken to equip another expedition for the colonization of Florida.

Three small vessels, respectively of one hundred and twenty, one hundred, and sixty tons burden, were provided by Coligny and placed under command of René de Laudonnière, who had accompanied Ribaut in the former expedition. Those who had returned from Charlesfort had probably reached France before the new expedition was ready to depart. The company which embarked with Laudonnière was made up of scions of good families seeking adventures in a new country, artisans, sailors, and soldiers, but apparently of few agriculturists. Laudonnière himself, if the pictures in De Bry bear any resemblance to him, was of very small stature, but intelligent and well informed.

The expedition sailed from Havre on the 22d of April, 1564, and, taking the usual route by the Canary Isles for the West Indies, arrived on the coast of Florida on the 22d of June. They went on shore and were received in a friendly manner by the Indians, a number of whom had gathered on the shore with



RIBAULT'S COLUMN AT THE MOUTH OF THE ST. JOHN'S RIVER

their principal chief. Laudonnière named the river the River of Dolphins, on account of the number of dolphins (porpoises) which he saw in its waters. He describes the location as having a shallow bar, and within the river branching, one branch to the north and the other to the south, which would seemingly identify the location as the harbor of St. Augustine.

Returning on board, they sailed to the north and arrived at the entrance of the St. John's, which Ribaut, in 1562, had named the River May, and, upon landing, the French were conducted by the natives to the column near the mouth of the river which had been set up by Ribaut. On the following day Laudonnière landed with some of his men and ascended the river to a high bluff, where he went on shore. Two of his officers made a reconnoissance inland, where they met a party of natives, among whom were two seemingly very old men. Upon interrogation as to their age, they were shown by the younger of the two, five generations of his descendants, and told that the other old man was his father, and, as well as they could gather from him, the younger of the two was at least two hundred and fifty years old, which speaks well of the health of the country, if we believe their story. Returning to his vessels, Laudonnière coasted as far as the Nassau and St. Mary's Rivers, which they named the Seine and the Somme, and landed on Amelia Island, called Guale by the Indians, where they were hospitably entertained by the chief. They made no effort to return to the abandoned Charlesfort, but decided to return to the River May and make their settlement there on its southern shore, near the high bluff which he had before examined, believing that the soil and other advantages of that location were better than Charlesfort or any point south of the River May—a fatal determination which led to the eventual destruction of the colony.

Having decided upon the location, he commanded the trumpet to sound, and assembled his people to return thanks for their safe arrival, and commenced work upon the fort, which

was laid out in the form of a triangle, all laboring assiduously at its construction.

An expedition went up the river in boats for a distance of twenty leagues and came to an Indian town called Thimagua, and by the Indians of this town were told of nine other caciques or kings. The name of one, "Mucoso," will be recalled in connection with the story of Juan Ortiz. From time to time boat expeditions were made to the tribes settled along the river, and Laudonnière had frequent invitations to assist the chiefs in their wars with one another, and on some occasions, from motives of policy, took sides in their quarrels.

In August a stroke of lightning set fire to the woods near the fort and caused a great deal of damage to the Indians. They ascribed this to the powerful artillery of the French, and begged that they would not shoot any more their big guns. Encouraging this belief, Laudonnière told the chief that he could have fired his cannon all the way to reach his house, some miles distant, if he had chosen, but that he fired only half way to show them his power. All this the Indians credited, and would not come near the fort for some time.

In September one of the Frenchmen pretended that, by the secret power of magic, he had discovered the location of gold and silver far up the river, and said that Laudonnière was intending to conceal it from them. Acting upon the credulity of others, he soon organized a conspiracy to make way with Laudonnière. About this time Laudonnière dispatched a small vessel to France, and sent with it seven or eight whose fidelity he suspected. He was subsequently prostrated by fever, and while in this condition the discontented conspired together and seized and confined him in a vessel in the river for fifteen days.

To facilitate explorations by water, he had built two small vessels. These the conspirators seized, and, taking supplies from the fort, set out upon a freebooting expedition against the Spaniards or any others whom they might meet. The ves-

sels were separated ; one of them captured the first vessel they met and took possession of it, abandoning their own. After making another capture, they were themselves taken and most of them killed. The other vessel, being pursued, returned to Fort Caroline, and Laudonnière had them tried by court-martial and the four leaders sentenced to be hung. It is related that when they found their proximity to Fort Caroline, having drunk much wine, they held a mock court-martial. One pretended to be Captain Laudonnière, another the judge ; another, after he had heard the matter pleaded, concluded thus : " Make you your causes as good as it pleases you, but if, when you come to Fort Caroline, the captain causes you not to be hung, I will never take him for an honest man." Others thought, " his choler being passed, he would easily forget the matter." Being out of provisions, however, they were obliged to enter the river and submit to Laudonnière. The only modification of the sentence of death upon the four leaders was that, being soldiers, they should first be shot before they were hung.

Being led out to execution, one of them endeavored to excite a rescue, but they were all four shot and hung upon gibbets at the mouth of the river. Thus early did this sad emblem of crime and human punishment succeed the planting of the cross upon our shores.

Laudonnière was informed that there were two white men living at a distance among the natives. He at once sent word to the chiefs of the neighboring tribes that he would give a large reward to have them brought to him. He soon obtained their delivery, and found that they were Spaniards who had been wrecked fifteen years previously upon the keys called the Martyrs, near Key West. They said that a considerable number were saved, and among them several women, who had married among the Indians and had families, so that it is probable that their descendants may be among some of the aborigines to this day.

The two Spaniards regaled Laudonnière with a fabulous account of the treasure which the king of Calos had stored up, in part from the wrecks of treasure-ships, and in part from other tribes with whom he traded, and told the French captain that if he would go to Calos with one hundred soldiers he could capture the whole of the king's treasure. They also told Laudonnière that the women of Calos, when they danced, wore around their waists a plate of gold, and the men as well, and so heavy as to impede their motions in the dance. However enticing all this was, either Laudonnière did not credit it or else felt his force unequal to the undertaking. Among other excursions which were made, one was a visit to the widow of King Hia-caia, whose domain seems to have been in the region about St. Mary's, Ga. She received them very courteously, and sent back the boats full of beans, acorns, and baskets of cassina, which was used to make a beverage. She was regarded as the most beautiful of all the Indian women, and was so much honored by her subjects that they always carried her upon a palanquin resting on their shoulders, and would not allow her to go on foot. In De Bry there is an engraving of a fair queen thus borne, with her attendants surrounding her in great state. Around her neck is a cordon of pearls ; bracelets and anklets adorn her person. On each side walk stately chiefs, holding large feather shades or fans. Beautiful young girls follow next to the queen, bearing baskets of fruit and flowers, and then come warriors and household guards.

Another excursion was made up the River St. John's to the island of Edelano (Drayton's Island), at the outlet of Lake George, which they described as situated in the midst of the river, "as fair a place as any that may be seen through the world, for, in the space of three leagues it may contain in length and breadth, a man may see an exceedingly rich country and marvelously peopled. At the coming out of the village of Edelano to go unto the river's side a man must pass through an

alley about three hundred paces long and fifty paces broad, on both sides whereof great trees are planted ; the boughs thereof are tied like an arch, and meet together so artificially that a man would think that it were an arbor made of purpose as fair, I say, as any in all Christendom, although it be altogether natural."

The colony at Fort Caroline had landed on the 29th of June, 1564, and had expected reinforcements and supplies by the month of April, 1565. They had shown very little discretion in husbanding their resources, and during the winter months no aid could be had from the Indians. The expected supplies did not come, and by May they were suffering from scarcity of food, and would have starved but for the fish they had obtained from the Indians. They had nearly exhausted the stores of the Indians, and the season wearing on with no relief in sight, they determined to leave the country as soon as they could repair their vessel or construct another. They were now in great straits to keep from starvation, and besought the Indians to furnish them with food, but the natives, probably having little to spare, became very exacting in the matter of payment, and the supply of exchangeable articles soon gave out, and the French commander had neither provisions for immediate wants nor to provision their vessel for their projected departure.

Thus rendered almost desperate, some of them thought they might obtain the food they needed by capturing one of the chiefs and exacting as a ransom the supplies they needed. They accordingly seized Olata-Utina, a great chief, and held him prisoner. The Indians of his tribe, however, instead of ransoming their king, elected a new one, believing that if they complied with the French captain's command, after obtaining the supplies that he wished, he would put Olata-Utina to death. Some of the other tribes hostile to Olata-Utina were willing to bribe the French with supplies if they would kill their prisoner, so

they obtained no benefit from making the Indian king a prisoner, but embittered the Indians fruitlessly. Later on they obtained some relief from the new corn in the Indian fields near them, and the fair queen before mentioned was very liberal toward them. In the mean time they pushed forward with diligence their preparations for departure.

In August there appeared off the bar four vessels, being the fleet of Sir John Hawkins, sailing under the English flag, returning from an expedition to the Spanish Main. They stopped to obtain fresh water, and were received and entertained by Laudonnière with the best he had, even, he says, "killing certain sheep and poultry which he had hitherto carefully preserved to stock the country withal."

Sir John, seeing the distress they were in, generously offered to transport them all back to France, which Laudonnière declined because, he said, he was in doubt of Sir John's motives, and was afraid he might set up some claim to Florida for the English sovereign.

The French garrison, however, had no such scruples, and said that they would go with the English unless Laudonnière made some provision himself for their leaving. The French commander finally purchased one of the smallest of the English vessels, in payment of which he gave four pieces of artillery, with powder and ball. Seeing how short of provisions the French were, Sir John gave them twenty barrels of meal, five barrels of beans, a hogshead of salt, and one hundred pounds of wax to make candles with, and, seeing the French soldiers were barefoot, he added fifty pairs of shoes. As soon as the English left, Laudonnière hastened his preparations for departure, and by the 15th of August they had everything ready, and were only waiting for fair winds to embark.

It was with no pleasant feelings that they prepared to leave a country to which they seem to have become attached, and which

they believed to be rich and fertile, but in which they were unable to remain for want of supplies for present needs. And why was this the case with these people and almost every other European settlement made in America ? The rivers and lakes abounded in fish, the shores and creeks with oysters, clams, etc., and the ground was fertile and seed quick in growth. One of Sir John Hawkins's expedition, who describes the condition in which they found the French, says : " Notwithstanding the great want which the Frenchmen had, the ground doth yield victuals sufficient, if they would have taken pains to get the same ; but they, being soldiers, desired to live by the sweat of other men's brows. The ground yieldeth naturally grapes in great store, for in the time the Frenchmen were there they made twenty hogsheads of wine. Also it yieldeth roots passing good, deers marvelous good, with divers other beasts and fowl serviceable to the use of men. These be things wherewith a man may live, having maize wherewith to make bread, for maize maketh good, savory bread and cakes as fine as flour." The idea seems very strange to us that people should starve on the banks of the St. John's, waiting for food to be brought to them from across the ocean.

Among the other things noticed by this Englishman was the use of tobacco, which he says the Indians sucked through a long cane with an earthen cup at the end, with fire, and the smoke so satisfied their hunger that they could live four or five days without meat or drink. The Indian houses, he says, are few, but so large that a hundred can lodge in them, having rafters covered with palmetto leaves, with only one small place divided off for their king and queen ; in the middle of the house a hearth upon which they build a fire, " and sleep upon certain pieces of wood hewn in for the bowing of their backs, and another place made high for their heads."

On the 28th of August the wind was favorable, and Laudonnière prepared to set sail for France with two vessels, when the

whole current of affairs was suddenly changed by the appearance in the offing of sails, and soon after a large vessel appeared, followed by others, which were preparing to enter the river. What vessels were these, friends or foes, they anxiously sought to know.

CHAPTER XIV

The French expedition under Ribaut, sent by Coligny, to relieve Fort Caroline—Simultaneous Spanish expedition under Menendez to expel the Huguenots from Florida—Capture of Fort Caroline by Menendez and massacre of the Huguenot garrison.

A.D. 1565

THE settlement at Fort Caroline, although neglected by France, had not been forgotten by its illustrious patron, but the civil commotions which had disturbed the country had delayed the succor which was so much needed. Reports had been received in France, through those sent away by Laudonnière, unfavorable to him, and Coligny determined to send out Ribaut, who had commanded the first expedition. A fleet of seven vessels was equipped with ample provisions for a permanent occupation of the country. Some six hundred and fifty persons embarked, and among them representatives of some of the first families in France.

By some means, and, as charged by many, through direct information from the French court, notice of the Huguenot expedition under Ribaut was made known to Philip II. of Spain. The Spanish crown had long claimed an exclusive right to Florida, on the shores of which the royal standard had many times been unfurled, and under this designation all of the mainland, extending to unknown limits, was included. The Huguenot expedition of 1562 and the succeeding one of 1564, and the settlement made by the latter on the St. John's, must have become known to the Spanish king and regarded as an infringement upon his rights and claims to the new world. It added

not a little, undoubtedly, to the sensitiveness of the Spanish monarch, that it was made by the French Huguenots, regarded by the bigoted king and his court as most detestable people, who, of all others, should not be allowed to settle in America. In view of the misfortunes which had attended every Spanish expedition to the shores of Florida, it seems as though it would have been an almost hopeless task to procure the means, or the men, for another enterprise in that direction; and so undoubtedly it would have been but for the character of the man who undertook it and the religious motives which urged him on, and which have so often proved that no stronger passion can control the human heart than religious zeal, even among those who conform to few of the obligations of a religious life. There was at the Spanish court at that period an unemployed man of considerable distinction, Don Pedro Menendez d'Aviles, who had acquired a high reputation by the success of many naval expeditions which he had conducted. He had learned that his son, who had sailed from Mexico in a treasure-ship, had become wrecked off the coast of Florida and was a captive among the Indians who inhabited its shores.

This man, soured by some difficulties and annoyances he had encountered, sorrowing over the captivity of a favorite son, whose fate, if living, presented itself to him as worse than death, and largely imbued with the spirit of promoting the propagation of the faith among the heathen, was led to seek the command of an expedition to Florida. His own principal thought was, no doubt, the recovery of his son, but the leading consideration which he placed before the king was the salvation of the souls of the tribes of Florida from the ruinous contact of the heretical sect. He also suggested the importance of a more thorough examination of the shores, harbors, currents, and soundings of the coasts in order to lessen the great losses sustained by shipwreck on those shores.

Although the sad fate of Narvaez's and De Soto's expeditions



PORTRAIT OF PEDRO MENENDEZ

must have been fresh in their minds, the name of Florida had not lost its charm, and the appeal of Menendez for followers was responded to by greater numbers than he could take with him. The king was to furnish five hundred men-at-arms, but only two hundred and forty-five were actually provided. A force of two thousand and six hundred persons was embarked on thirty-four vessels of various sizes, the largest of which was rated at one thousand tons, and carried over one thousand persons, a large vessel and a very large number of persons for that day to be placed on one vessel. Menendez had expended in the equipment of the expedition nearly one million ducats, expending all of his own fortune and all the means he could obtain by loan or gift from his friends. He carried with him twenty-six clerical persons, priests, brothers, and monks. He was authorized by his agreement to take with him five hundred slaves, with which he purposed to clear lands and put up buildings for settlement and cultivation, but they were not embarked.

The expedition under Ribaut left Dieppe on the 23d of May, 1565, numbering seven sail, and carrying five hundred men, besides some families of artisans who accompanied the expedition. They were delayed a long time by contrary winds, and did not reach the coast of Florida until the latter part of the month of August. Touching at Mosquito, they found a Spaniard who had been wrecked upon the coast twenty years before, who informed them, upon the report of the natives, that Laudonnière's colony was about fifty leagues northward. Coasting along, they sounded the entrance of the River Dolphins (St. Augustine), and proceeded northward and entered the mouth of the River May (St. John's) on the 29th of August, 1565. Unknowing of Ribaut's expedition for his relief, Laudonnière was on the eve of departure. Only the three smaller vessels were able to enter the river, and for several days they were employed in landing the stores and provisions, leaving on board only a few

besides the ordinary crew. Had Ribaut arrived a day later, Laudonnière would have been gone and the whole course of affairs changed.

Menendez had pushed forward his preparations with the greatest vigor, especially when he knew the French had sailed, of which he seems to have received the fullest particulars, and he wished to reach Florida before the French had time to fortify and entrench themselves. Leaving part of his vessels to follow him, he sailed from Cadiz on the 1st of July, 1565, something over a month later than Ribaut had sailed from Dieppe. Menendez encountered a severe storm in the vicinity of the Canaries, and when he reached Puerto Rico on the 9th of August he had but a third part of his expedition with him. Learning that a dispatch vessel, sent with orders to him from Spain, had been intercepted by the French, he decided not to wait for his missing vessels, but to push on to Florida after refitting as well as he could. On the 28th of August, being the day devoted in the calendar of the Roman Church to St. Augustine, they came on the coast of Florida and landed near St. Augustine, to which, in honor of the day, they gave the name which it has now borne for more than three hundred years. Upon the same day, by a singular coincidence, Ribaut's fleet had cast anchor at the mouth of the St. John's River, the two hostile fleets being thus within thirty miles of each other, and landing simultaneously, at the end of a voyage of more than three thousand miles, each unknowing of the proximity of the other.

It adds not a little to this concurrence of events to recall the fact that on the fourth of the same month the English fleet under Sir John Hawkins had anchored at the mouth of the St. John's, thus bringing into close proximity the fleets of the three great maritime powers.

The Spaniards on landing at St. Augustine had learned from the Indians that the French were at twenty leagues' distance

to the north, and that Ribaut's vessels were at the mouth of the River St. John.

A council of war was now held by the Spanish captains, a majority of whom were in favor of withdrawing to Hispaniola and preparing to attack the French in the spring with a more powerful force. But Menendez declared his intention of making the attack at once. At daybreak the Spanish vessels left their anchorage and began to move up towards the French transports. These, distrusting the intentions of the Spaniards, hoisted sail and prepared to slip their cables, as they had few men on board. Confirmed in their suspicions by the movements of the Spanish vessels, officers of Ribaut's fleet put to sea and were fired upon by the Spaniards at too great a distance to inflict any injury. Pursuit was kept up all day, but they were unable to overtake the French, and at nightfall abandoned the pursuit and returned to St. Augustine, whither they were followed at a safe distance by one of the French vessels to observe their further movements. There they were seen to disembark their forces, stores, and munitions, three vessels entering the harbor and three remaining outside.

The French vessel thereupon returned and reported to Ribaut that the Spaniards had landed and were fortifying themselves. Ribaut at once conceived the idea of surprising the vessels lying outside, and, by the capture of their ships, preventing any molestation of the French colony. Calling a council of his officers, he laid his plans before them. Laudonnière and some others thought the risk too great, especially as the weather was subject to storms, but Ribaut determined to follow out his own plans.

He accordingly reëmbarked his own force, and with them most of the able-bodied men belonging to Laudonnière's command, leaving only an invalid force with that officer to defend Fort Caroline. Ribaut did not anticipate an absence of more than two days, as the Spaniards were within fifteen leagues of him. He was, however, by a fatal mischance, too early or too

late, for, sailing on September 10th, he had hardly gotten to sea before he encountered a terrible storm, which drove him helplessly before it far down the coast.

In the mean time his rival, Menendez, was influenced by a similar desire to act promptly and attack the Huguenot settlement before they had made their possession more secure. He proposed to his officers an expedition by land against Fort Caroline. His own force numbered about six hundred, and he supposed the French to have about the same number.

Having secured guides and being well informed of the location of the French fort and of the route for reaching it, he determined, against the advice of his officers, to undertake the expedition. The storm which now raged along the coast, accompanied with a deluge of rain, seemed to favor his design of surprising the French at a time and from a quarter which they could hardly anticipate. He felt almost sure that the French fleet was at sea, and that, even if it escaped shipwreck, it would be some days before it could regain the harbor.

Ribaut had been gone a week when Menendez, on September 17th, marched out from his camp at St. Augustine at the head of five hundred men to make the attack on Fort Caroline. His course lay over a flat country, which, on account of the heavy rains, made their progress very difficult. Guided by the Indian chiefs who were inimical to the French, they were three days in marching over the forty miles which lay between St. Augustine and Fort Caroline. They waded rather than marched most of the way, as the low places were flooded and the streams over their banks. Many of the officers and men wished to return, and much dissatisfaction was felt, but the character and energy of their leader prevented their deserting him.

In the mean time Laudonnière, after Ribaut's departure, had done his best to repair the injury which had been previously done to the fort in expectation of its abandonment, and endeavored to infuse some spirit into and restore some order to

his invalid garrison. He himself was very unwell, and had only seventeen well men in the fort. Of Ribaut's men whom he had left behind, there were some who had never drawn a sword, and artisans and servants made up the rest, in all about two hundred and forty, counting soldiers, artisans, lackeys, women, and children. Two captains of the watch were appointed, and a strict guard kept up for several days ; but the terrible tempest which prevailed relaxed their vigilance, not expecting an attack at such a time. The night of the 19th of September was very stormy, and at dawn the sentinels were withdrawn under shelter, and the officer of the watch himself retired to his quarters. At break of day the forces of Menendez silently reached the vicinity of the fort, and at once made an attack. A sudden rush, a quick alarm, a surprise, a feeble resistance by a bewildered garrison, and the fort was taken. Laudonnière, from his own account, tried to rally his men, and fought in person as long as there was hope, but, finding himself recognized and pursued, he fled to the neighboring forest, and there fell in with other fugitives from the fort.

In the first assault on the fort many of those within were cut down without regard to age or sex, a statement which may well be believed in view of the more deliberate cruelty practiced afterwards. The Spanish account of the capture of the fort admits that an indiscriminate slaughter took place until checked by an order from Menendez that no woman, child, or cripple under the age of fifteen should be injured, by which, it is said, seventy persons were saved ; "the rest were killed." Some of the prisoners were hung upon the neighboring trees, and this inscription placed over them : "No por Franceses, sino por Luteranos" ("Not as Frenchmen, but as Lutherans").

Menendez changed the name of the fort to San Mateo, in honor of the apostle whose festival occurred on the day subsequent to its capture. They also changed the name of the River May, given to it by the French, to San Mateo. Menendez

repaired the fort and made such arrangements as were requisite to fortify the place against an attack should Ribaut return, leaving a garrison of three hundred men-at-arms, under the command of Gonzalez de Villa Real. Before leaving he had crosses erected in prominent situations, and marked out the site of a church to be built of the timber which Laudonnière had gotten out for building vessels.

Taking the remainder of his men with him, Menendez returned to St. Augustine, meeting even greater difficulties than before in crossing the swamps and streams.

His arrival at St. Augustine was signalized by great rejoicing; a solemn mass was celebrated and a Te Deum sung in commemoration of the victory, if such it can be called, over the handful of Frenchmen whom he surprised and overcame with little effort and apparently without loss. The Spanish account says that there were one hundred and forty-two of the French colony killed, but, as only twenty-six escaped from the massacre, it leaves seventy-two unaccounted for, most of whom must undoubtedly be added to the number of the slain, although a few of those under fifteen may have survived the massacre.

CHAPTER XV

Shipwreck of Ribaut's vessels on the coast of Florida—Ribaut and his companions escape with their lives, and are massacred in cold blood by Menendez.

A.D. 1565

RIBAUT, as we have seen, embarked all of his own able-bodied force, with the better part of the garrison of Fort Caroline, in order to make a descent upon St. Augustine, which he felt justified in doing, as the vessels of Menendez had already fired upon his fleet and given warning of their hostile intentions.

He had hardly set sail when one of those violent tempests from the northeast, not uncommon in that region in September, arose and, not having sea room, they were unable to avoid being driven on shore. Fortunately, owing to the sandy, shelving coast, they were enabled to reach shore safely ; but all the vessels were wrecked along the coast between Matanzas and Cape Canaveral. Ribaut and some two hundred and eight of his people were cast on shore between Mosquito inlet and Matanzas inlet.

Their first idea was to communicate with Fort Caroline, but they were unable to march there along the coast, and were not aware of their proximity to the St. John's River.

Menendez soon learned from the Indians of their shipwreck and where Ribaut and his men then were, and, taking a small force with him, proceeded to Matanzas inlet to reconnoiter their situation.

Ribaut was made aware of the arrival of Menendez's force on

the north side of the inlet, and sent two of his officers to confer with the Spaniards. On asking to be allowed to send a boat to Fort Caroline, the French captains were informed of the capture of Fort Caroline. They then asked for vessels to return to France, but Menendez refused to grant any other terms than an unconditional surrender, intimating, however, that they might rely upon his clemency.

Under the stress of dire necessity, with no avenue of escape open to them, the French agreed to surrender themselves to Menendez, and marched up to the inlet for that purpose. They were first required to surrender their arms, amounting to some seventy muskets and a few pistols. They were then conveyed across the inlet in boats ten at a time. As they came over Menendez received them and said to them that as he had but a small force with him and they were many, it would be necessary for his security that they should have their hands tied, whereupon the squads as they came over were taken out of sight of the landing and securely tied with their hands behind their backs.

Menendez had given orders that at a certain point he had designated their guards should kill their prisoners without exception. A few who professed to be Roman Catholics were spared and sent on to St. Augustine.

It is said that when Ribaut and Ottigny saw their men thus tied they called to Menendez, reminding him of the promise to spare the lives of those who had confided in his honor, but all in vain. A soldier, by order of Menendez, thrust a dagger into the breast of the gallant Ribaut, and then slew Ottigny in the same manner. Ribaut, when he saw the fate that awaited him, began to recite the psalm Domine, memento mei (O Lord, remember me), and, that finished, said : "From earth we came and to earth we return; that twenty years of life more or less did not matter, and Menendez might do what he chose."

One would have supposed that the noble Christian deport-

ment of Ribaut would have touched the chivalry of Menendez's nature, and that the spectacle of a gentleman, his equal in rank, a brave and knightly soldier, reduced by shipwreck to suffering and helplessness, appealing to his generosity for aid and to his humanity for the lives of himself and his helpless, powerless, and disarmed fellow-sufferers, would have called forth some spark of sympathy from a heart still sore under the loss of a son who, like Ribaut, had been cast shipwrecked upon the same shores, and who, like him, was a helpless captive in the hands of his enemies. But, alas! Menendez's was a nature full of deadly hatred towards those whose faith differed from his own, although they all professed a belief in their dependence upon the same God, and hoped for salvation through the same merciful Saviour.

His heart was now almost roused to frenzy towards the unfortunate Huguenots, cast, not in battle, but by misfortune into his hands. His apologist, De Solis, closes the drama with the words : "The adelantado ordered them all to be killed."

One of the Frenchmen, however, survived the blow intended to kill him and revived sufficiently to free himself from his thongs, and made his escape to the Indians, by whom he was for a while befriended. At length he ventured to present himself at St. Augustine, where his life was spared, but he was reduced to the condition of a slave. Eventually he was sent to Havana, and, on his way from there to Portugal, the vessel was captured by the French, and he at length reached France to bear witness of the tragic fate of Ribaut and his companions at the hands of Menendez, who in his fury would not even accept a ransom of one hundred thousand dollars offered him for the safety of some of the sons of distinguished families who were in the expedition.

The atrocity of the deed struck all Europe with horror even in that day, and the shocking story of the massacre of the Huguenots has been perpetuated from that day to this, stamping the name of Menendez with a stain of infamy which no

length of time will ever efface, as the name Matanzas indicates the scene of the tragedy.

Of those who were shipwrecked two hundred either were not present or refused to join in the surrender made by Ribaut, and, withdrawing to the southward, made preparations for defense by building a small timber fort and prepared to construct vessels with which to leave the coast. Twenty days after the massacre of Ribaut and his party, Menendez was informed by some Indians from down the coast that at a distance of eight days' journey southward, near Cape Canaveral, the French were building a fort and a ship. Upon this information he manned some vessels to proceed along the coast, while he marched with a force of three hundred men by land to the neighborhood of the French fort. Upon his approach the Huguenots fled to the woods. A messenger was sent to them by Menendez, offering them safe protection and that they should be treated as well as Spaniards if they would come in. Upon this pledge of security one hundred and fifty of the number surrendered to Menendez, and, it is said, were well treated. The others sent word that they had rather be devoured by the Indians than place themselves in the hands of the Spaniards. What was the future fate of these is unknown, but they probably either spent their lives among the natives or perished at their hands.

Their fort was burned, their ship destroyed, and cannon spiked. The Spaniards built a small fort near by, to which they gave the name of Santa Lucia, in which they left a small garrison. The names of Santa Lucia and Canaveral still adhere to that part of the coast, and recall the shipwreck of the Huguenots.

The Spanish forces returned to St. Augustine accompanied by their prisoners, who were incorporated into the colony for the time being. Some eventually returned to France ; others, it is said, renouncing their faith and accepting that of their captors, remained permanently. Doubtless the blood of the

Huguenots, mingling with that of the Spaniards, has descended to our day in some of the families now resident in St. Augustine.

We must now return to Laudonnière and the few survivors of Fort Caroline. After Ribaut's departure three small vessels remained to the French, one below the fort and two anchored in the mouth of the St. John's River. One of the French vessels was called *Le Levrier*, and one was a vessel purchased from Sir John Hawkins, called the *Pearl*.

By swimming, wading, and making their way through the low marshes along the shore, those who had escaped from Fort Caroline, to the number of twenty-six, had succeeded in getting on board these vessels. Six others who had escaped from the fort had gone back and surrendered, only to be put to death.

The vessel called *Le Levrier* they concluded to abandon, and the refugees were divided between the other two vessels, one being commanded by Capt. Jean Ribaut and the other by Laudonnière. The *Pearl*, Ribaut's vessel, after a boisterous voyage, arrived at the port of Rochelle in France. Laudonnière's vessel, having less skillful navigators, made land at the port of Swansea, in Wales, about the middle of November, where Laudonnière landed and returned to France through England, sending the vessel to a French port.

Thus ended for a time the efforts of the French to establish a colony in the southern part of the United States. The lilies of France had been trampled in the dust, and the royal standard of Spain waved over St. Augustine, San Mateo, and San Lucia.

The destruction of the Huguenots excited the utmost gratification at the court of Spain ; the acts of Menendez were approved and commended by the bigoted and cruel Philip II., and even drew forth a letter of grateful commendation from the pontiff, Pius V.

Ribaut's fatal error in seeking to attack the Spaniards at St. Augustine by sea, where at best only his smallest vessels could have entered on account of the small depth of water on the bar, was the prime cause of the failure of the French Huguenots to establish the dominion of France over that region. With his own troops and Laudonnière's garrison and the defensive position of Fort Caroline, he could not have been dislodged by Menendez, and would likely have been able to make St. Augustine untenable against a sufficient force approaching it by land. As it was, everything favored Menendez and contributed to the destruction of the French colony.

CHAPTER XVI

The troubles which beset Menendez in founding his colony—Mutinies in every quarter—Explorations made, and forts and missions established—Some priests murdered.

A.D. 1565-1567

ONE purpose of the Spanish expedition led by Menendez was now accomplished. He had destroyed the French colony, and for the present, at least, had put an end to that much-despised sect, the Lutheran, establishing itself in the new world. His first necessity now was to strengthen his own position and guard against any attempt the French might make to reoccupy the country which he had come to claim for the exclusive possession of the Spanish crown.

His location at St. Augustine was in many respects a favorable one to plant a colony ; it was easily defended both by land and sea, and was likely to prove healthy, being surrounded by salt marshes and almost wholly free from exposure to miasma, so fatal to many new settlements.

St. Augustine now occupies without doubt the identical location selected by Menendez. The Indian town called Seloy lay north of the present fort, and was the site of Menendez's first fort, which was constructed of logs, and surrounded on the land side by a ditch and palisades. Other buildings were erected to shelter the inhabitants, and a form of government based on that of Spanish towns was adopted. Among the first buildings erected was, no doubt, a church in which the rites of the Roman Church were celebrated, the first Roman Catholic church erected on the Atlantic coast of North Amer-

ica. Menendez was recognized by the pope as a defender of the faith, and the interests of the Church were especially commended to his attention by Pope Pius V.

After providing for the security and welfare of his garrison at St. Augustine, he proceeded to add to the defenses of San Mateo on the St. John's River, and erected additional defenses at the mouth of the river. He also sent out parties for the exploration of the interior.

The neighboring tribes soon began to evince a hostile spirit towards the Spaniards. The soldiers of Menendez could not venture beyond the vicinity of the camp without being harassed by the arrows of the Indians, and day after day one after another of those who went out hunting or fishing were cut off, until more than a hundred men and several officers had fallen victims. The Indians even came within the precincts of the camp, and on one occasion succeeded in setting fire to a magazine and a great number of thatched houses, causing great destruction of property and provisions and much suffering.

Menendez finally determined to ask supplies from the governor of Cuba, and, receiving none from that quarter, sent a vessel to Campeachy to obtain them there. Up to this time he had in vain sought tidings of his lost son, and, while awaiting the return of the vessel from Campeachy, he determined to go in person and search that part of the coast where it was reported that his son had been cast on shore, and, taking a smaller vessel, sailed along the coast southward. Landing at Cape Florida, he found there at an Indian town seven Spaniards, who with many others had been shipwrecked in the neighborhood some twenty years previously; these alone had survived the cruelty and hardships to which all had been subjected. This was in the country called Calos. He failed, however, to obtain any tidings of his son.

Releasing his countrymen from their captivity, Menendez received them on board his vessel and returned to St. Augustine

much grieved at the failure to recover his son. New trials and difficulties awaited him on his return. Increasing distress at San Mateo and St. Augustine had created disaffection. Both garrisons mutinied and determined to abandon the country ; the officers left in command were unable to control the mutineers at St. Augustine, who seized a vessel and sailed for the West Indies. Of the garrison at San Mateo all but twenty mutinied and determined to leave ; a vessel arriving with provisions, they at once seized it, intending to go to the West Indies or Peru.

Menendez arrived after the mutineers had embarked but not yet sailed ; he vainly attempted to get them to return to duty. Only thirty-five of the one hundred and thirty-one on board were willing to remain ; these were put on a batteau, but before they could reach St. Augustine they were attacked by the Indians and most of them killed.

The mutineers sailed for Cuba, but were wrecked at Cape Florida, and remained captive among the Indians of Calos. Of the garrison at St. Augustine, over one hundred, led by Juan de Vicenti, forced Menendez to allow them to go to Puerto Rico ; crowded into a small vessel, they suffered from heat and sickness, and many died on the way. Many of the mutineers returned to Spain and spread unfavorable reports of the country, preventing others from wishing to go there.

Menendez now undertook to examine the coast and countries which lay north of him, visiting and making friendly overtures to the chiefs along the coast of Georgia and South Carolina, and is supposed to have reached the Chesapeake. The points especially mentioned are Guale (Amelia Island), Avista, and St. Helena. He built forts at Avista and St. Helena. Returning, he ascended the St. John's River, visiting several Indian tribes on its borders.

He afterwards revisited Guale, Avista, and St. Helena, and left religious teachers to instruct the natives. Not very long

afterwards the garrison left at St. Helena deserted, and, seizing a transport, made sail for Cuba, but were shipwrecked near Cape Florida, and fell into captivity with those who went from San Mateo.

Further efforts were made to carry missions to the Indians, and several Jesuit fathers of some distinction wished to go among them. Father Martinez had landed on Fort George Island, and with three of his attendants was killed by the Indians. Menendez, however, persevered, and built some small forts to protect the missions he established. At Tacabago he met in council twenty-nine chiefs and fifteen hundred Indians. Satouriara, the bitter enemy of the Spaniards, maintained an attitude of constant hostility. Menendez led four detachments of seventy men against him with fruitless results.

Within the eighteen months succeeding his arrival in Florida, Menendez had carefully examined the entire coast from Cape Florida to St. Helena, and probably much beyond; had navigated the River St. John's well up to its head; had built forts at San Mateo, St. Augustine, Avista, Guale, and St. Helena, and established block-houses at Tequesta, Calos, Tocobayo, and Coava, in all of which he had placed garrisons and religious teachers. In most of this work he had been personally engaged, while he was responsible for it all, and mind and body now required change and relaxation.

Believing that the interests of the colony required his return to Spain, he constructed a small vessel of twenty tons, and in the spring of 1567 set sail in this small vessel, which could carry only thirty-eight, including the crew. With fair weather and favorable winds, they reached the Azores in seventeen days, and claimed to have sailed seventy-two leagues a day, a statement not easily to be credited. Menendez was received with great favor on his arrival at court, but found great difficulty in obtaining the substantial aid he required to maintain

his enterprise. He was anxious for his colony, and had heard rumors of retaliation by the French for the massacre at Fort Caroline and Matanzas, and that, indignant at the indifference shown by the French court, others were prepared to take the matter in hand.

CHAPTER XVII

The notable revenge executed by the French captain Dominic de Gourgues on the Spaniards in Florida to avenge the massacre of the Huguenots at Fort Caroline and Matanzas.

A.D. 1567

THE name of Dominic de Gourgues occupies a place hardly secondary in interest to any other in the history of events in Florida.

This self-constituted champion of his country's wrongs and of the rights of humanity was a native of Marsan, in Guienne, and a brother of the governor of that place. After long service at arms, he obtained the rank of captain, when that rank meant much more than it does now.

Being charged with the defense of a place near Sienna, with only thirty soldiers at his command, and being attacked with a largely superior force, he made so desperate a resistance that all were slain but himself, and he fell a prisoner into the hands of the Spaniards.

To show their appreciation of his signal bravery, and, as the French chronicler, with bitter sarcasm, remarks, with rare Spanish generosity, De Gourgues, instead of being put to death, was consigned to the galleys. The vessel upon which he was placed as a galley slave was captured by the Turks and again by the Maltese, and carried to Rhodes; afterwards he was fortunate enough to be recaptured by a French vessel and restored to his country. He soon embarked in an expedition to Brazil and the South Seas, where he probably acquired a considerable fortune.

From this voyage De Gourgues returned in time to partake of the grief and indignation excited throughout France by the massacre of the Huguenots at Fort Caroline, and the cold-blooded slaughter of Ribaut and his shipwrecked companions. The ignoble treatment De Gourgues had himself received at the hands of the Spaniards and the fetters of his galley life had left scars on his soul not easily effaced, and it may well be supposed that this new tale of horror stirred to the depths all the concentrated indignation of his nature. The spirit of retaliation surged up and was fully aroused, and he felt that the blood of his slaughtered countrymen, no less than his own wrongs, called for the infliction of summary vengeance.

It has been said that the destruction of the Huguenots was treated by the king and court of France with an indifference which greatly embittered the people, many of whom were in sympathy with the religious faith of the sufferers, while others had lost friends and relations in the bloody massacre. Charlevoix, who would be likely to know, says De Gourgues was not a Huguenot, but a Roman Catholic. His sympathy was with his countrymen as Frenchmen, and his design was to maintain the honor of France.

He seems to have deemed it unwise to make public his feelings or intentions, or to ask any aid of the king. He sold his own property and borrowed money from friends, using all the means at his command in equipping three small vessels of light draught and storing them with provisions for a twelvemonth.

He engaged one hundred and eighty persons to join him, of whom one hundred were gentlemen armed with arquebuses, and eighty sailors, also provided with crossbows and pikes, to be used when their services might be required as combatants. The professed purpose of his expedition was to obtain slaves on the African coast. Fortunately for his purpose, the king's lieutenant in Guienne was a friend of his, and readily granted him a license to go to Africa to procure slaves.

He was prepared by the 2d of August, 1567, to put to sea, but was detained twenty days by heavy weather, and did not leave the coast until the 22d of the same month, when he set sail for the African coast. He stopped at Fort Blanco for a few days, where he was attacked, at the instigation of Portuguese traders, by three African chiefs, whom he repulsed. Turning west from Cape de Verde, he laid his course for St. Domingo, where he stopped, took water, and repaired his vessels. He spent some time among the islands, obtaining fruits and re-victualing as well as he was able, most of his bread having been spoiled by a leak in one of his vessels. He finally reached Cape San Antonio, at the west end of Cuba.

It was then only that he declared to his men the real object and purpose of his expedition. He depicted the wrongs their countrymen had received at the hands of the Spaniards, the indignity their nation and flag had suffered, and the shame that rested upon France for leaving so long unavenged an act so wicked and base as the murder of the Huguenots and the destruction of the French colony. He told them that the work which lay before them was to punish the Spaniards and wipe out the stain that rested upon their own country, explaining, as fully as he then could, his plans and the means by which he hoped to attain success, expressing his entire confidence in them, and hoping, as he said, that they would not disappoint the high expectations he had formed when he selected them from the many who had been eager to join the expedition.

His words fell upon willing ears, and the hearts of his followers burned with eagerness to reach the shore occupied by the hated Spaniards and begin the work of revenge. A favorable wind soon brought them to the coast of Florida, and, passing by the mouth of the River San Mateo, the Spaniards, supposing they were Spanish, fired a salute, which De Gourgues returned to keep up their error. A few leagues north of the San Mateo

they entered the harbor of Fernandina, near the mouth of the St. Mary's River, called by the natives Tacatacourona and by the French the Somme.

At daybreak the morning after their arrival they beheld a multitude of Indians on the shore prepared to oppose their landing, supposing them to be Spaniards. Fortunately the trumpeter on board De Gourgues's vessel was well acquainted with the Indian language, having been with Laudonnière, and he was sent on shore to give assurance of friendship and to enlist their aid. The trumpeter was soon recognized by the Indians and received with demonstrations of pleasure.

Satourioura, the bitter foe of the Spaniards, was present, and welcomed De Gourgues as the friend of Laudonnière. The complaints of the Indians against the Spaniards were bitter, and they were impatient for the opportunity for revenge. Explaining as far as was necessary his plans to his Indian allies, De Gourgues made a reconnoissance of the position of the Spanish forts on the St. John's, and ascertained their location and strength of their garrisons. Returning to his vessels, he awaited the assembling of the Indians, who, under their chiefs Olocatora and Satourioura, were to join him in the assault. They had engaged to return in three days and bring their warriors with them. On the third day they came in with large numbers of their followers.

Satourioura brought with him a youth of sixteen, named Pierre de Brè, who had escaped from Fort Caroline at the time of the massacre and had taken refuge with the Indians. Many efforts had been made by the Spaniards to get possession of the boy, but the Indians faithfully protected him, and now brought him to De Gourgues. He proved very useful as an interpreter, and informed De Gourgues of the strength of the three forts on the river, which, he said, contained in all but four hundred soldiers.

The French were rejoiced to find the Indians so ready to

assist them in so difficult an enterprise as making an attack on a superior force entrenched within fortified places. Besides Fort Caroline, now strengthened and named San Mateo, the Spaniards had erected a small fort on each side of the mouth of the river.

CHAPTER XVIII

How De Gourgues captured the Spanish forts on the St. John's River and hung the prisoners, "not as Spaniards, but traitors, thieves, and murderers."

A.D. 1567

DE GOURGUES'S plan was to first attack the fort on the north side of the river. Helicopali, one of the chiefs, acted as guide. The French soldiers and their Indian allies were to meet at the Nassau River. The Indians were to proceed by way of Fort George Island and the French by water. Concealing themselves on Fort George Island until low tide, so that they could wade over to the island on the north side of the river, the attack was made at midday, while the garrison were at dinner. The sentinel was not at his post, and the French soldiers had nearly reached the fort before they were discovered.

The Spanish garrison, though for over two years anticipating an attack, were at last taken by surprise, and the cry which now reached their ears, "The French ! the French !" struck terror to every heart. The sentinel flew to his post and fired a culverin twice at the enemy, and was on the point of firing a third time, when Olocatora leaped on the platform and transfixed him with a pike. Ignorant from what direction the French had come upon them, and probably only expecting an attack by sea, the demoralized garrison rushed to the gates, hoping to escape, but were met by De Gourgues's men, and all either killed or captured.

The garrison on the south side of the river, observing the contest, opened fire upon the French, who, being now in posses-

sion of the first fort, turned the captured guns upon the enemy, returning their fire with good effect. In the mean time De Gourgues's vessels had come around from the mouth of the St. Mary's and commenced an attack upon the Spanish fort on the south side of the river, while the Indians in large numbers swam across the river. The Spanish garrison in the second fort, finding themselves thus in danger of being surrounded, gave up all for lost, and endeavored to reach Fort San Mateo by passing through the woods along the margin of the river. De Gourgues, anticipating their design, intercepted their flight, and, with the efficient aid of the Indians, succeeded in killing or capturing the whole number.

Among the fifteen prisoners taken was an old sergeant, who gave De Gourgues very accurate information as to the position, height, and strength of Fort San Mateo, which he desired next to attack. The French commander prudently determined to make his position sure by fortifying himself in one of the two forts already captured. He also busied himself making scaling-ladders, etc., and sent out reconnoitering parties to observe the movements of the Spanish force in Fort San Mateo. One of these parties, headed by the young chief Olocatora, seized a Spaniard disguised as an Indian, and brought him to De Gourgues. The Spaniard professed to have escaped from one of the captured forts, and said he had disguised himself as an Indian in order to avoid being killed by the Indians, but, being confronted with the old sergeant, he was found to be a spy from San Mateo, sent out to discover the strength of the French and to observe their movements. He said that the commander of the Spanish fort supposed the French to be over two thousand strong, while their own garrison consisted of only two hundred and sixty men, and they felt unable to defend the fort against such superior numbers.

Upon this information, De Gourgues determined to hasten his attack and avail himself of the discouragement of the Span-

iards. Coming out under cover of night, he disposed his Indian force in ambuscade around the fort to await the moment their services should be required, and at dawn of day he approached with his own men, and, as soon as discovered, was fired upon from a battery which had been placed to cover the approach to the fort by water. De Gourgues retired a short distance, and, turning aside, secured a position protected from the guns of the fort while he himself could observe all their movements. He soon observed a force of about sixty men coming out of the fort on a reconnoissance. As soon as they had come out a sufficient distance, De Gourgues threw a party in their rear in order to intercept their return, and then, rushing out from his concealed position, attacked the Spaniards briskly in front ; they quickly retreated, and, being met by the French in their rear, were cut to pieces.

Seeing this, the garrison became panic-stricken, and, abandoning all efforts at defense, sought safety in flight, but, being surrounded on all sides by the French and their Indian allies, only a few, among whom was the commander of the fort, escaped. Nearly all fell under the weapons of the French or the clubs of the Indians, while the few taken alive were reserved for a signal act of revenge. The fort was well armed for a stout defense, if it had been held by stout hearts. The artillery De Gourgues removed to his own vessels, but before he could remove anything else, an Indian, broiling fish near the fort, set fire to a train leading to the magazine, and the whole was blown up and destroyed.

The Spaniards who had been taken prisoners were led out to the spot on which, in September, 1565, Menendez had caused the Huguenots of Fort Caroline to be hung. De Gourgues here arraigned them at the bar of retributive justice. He told them of the wrongs done by the Spaniards under Menendez to the French king, how they had murdered his defenseless subjects, destroying the fort they had built and taking possession of the

country they had conquered. Such base treason and detestable cruelty could not go always unpunished, and he had taken upon himself, at his own risk and expense, to avenge the wrongs of his countrymen. He could not make them suffer as they justly ought, but must mete out to them such punishment as an enemy might fairly inflict, in order that their fate might be a warning unto others.

Having thus spoken, he caused the wretched prisoners to be hung from the branches of the spreading oaks under whose shade the unfortunate Huguenots had suffered, and, in place of the inscription which Menendez had written in Spanish over his victims, "I do this not as unto Frenchmen, but as to Lutherans," De Gourgues caused to be graved on a tablet of pine with a hot iron these words : "I do this not as unto Spaniards nor mariners, but as to traitors, thieves, and murderers."

Then, returning down the river to the fort below, the thirty prisoners belonging to the garrison who had been captured and secured there were brought out and hung. Among the last Spaniards who were put to death was one who confessed that he had taken part in the massacre of the Huguenots at Fort Caroline, and had with his own hands hung five of them. Acknowledging his guilt, he reproached himself greatly, and recognized the hand of God in the just punishment he was about to suffer. At the suggestion of De Gourgues and with great good will the Indians undertook to destroy the forts. They were, moreover, very anxious that he should complete his work by the destruction of the fort and garrison at St. Augustine, but he felt unequal to their capture with the means at his command, although it is not unlikely he might have succeeded, Menendez being absent and the French force overestimated. Having accomplished successfully the main purpose of his expedition, he assembled the Indians, thanking them on his own behalf and in the name of his countrymen for their services, and exhorted them to continue the friendship

they had ever shown for France, who desired to protect them from the Spaniards and all their enemies. The Indians parted from the French with tears and lamentations, and could be pacified only by a promise from De Gourgues to return to them within a twelvemonth with a larger force.

After weighing anchor, De Gourgues assembled his ship's company and called upon them to return thanks to God for the success he had vouchsafed to their enterprise. "It was not," he said, "other than God who preserved us from shipwreck and moulded the hearts of the savages to join with us. 'Twas God who blinded the understanding of the Spaniards so that they were unable to discover the number of our forces or to know how to employ their own. They were four to one in numbers, had strong fortresses well provided with artillery, ammunition, arms, and provisions. We had the just cause, and conquered those who contended with the right. Thus it was God alone and not ourselves who won the victory." He concluded by invoking the divine blessing on their homeward voyage. Having sailed on the 3d of May, and having favorable winds, they reached Rochelle on the 6th of June, having lost on the passage the tender with eight men and a few who had been killed at the assault on the forts.

De Gourgues was received with great honor and applause at Rochelle; but the report of his exploit having reached Spain, a fleet was sent to intercept him, which arrived at Rochelle just as he sailed for Bordeaux, vainly pursuing him. He presented himself at court and gave an account of his doings in Florida, and tendered his services to the king to regain possession of that country; but the anti-Huguenot party was then in power, and the temper of the court was not favorable to such a movement, and, although there were doubtless many who rejoiced that the slaughter of the Huguenots had been avenged, De Gourgues met with a cool reception and was advised to seek safety in concealment.

Philip of Spain, the same king who had shortly before bestowed all honor and commendation upon Menendez for his bloody massacre of the Huguenots, had now the unblushing effrontery to demand of the French king the head of De Gourgues. His friends shielded him, and after some years spent in obscurity, he was appointed by the king to the command of the French fleet, but died suddenly in 1582, greatly regretted.

Looking at the limited means and small force that De Gourgues had at his command, his enterprise seems to have bordered on recklessness. With only two small vessels and a tender, a force of one hundred soldiers and eighty sailors, he was to meet a foe outnumbering his own four to one, trained soldiers, occupying three forts mounted with cannon and provided with an abundance of military stores, ammunition, etc. His Indian allies were armed only with bows, arrows, and clubs, and undisciplined for a contest with regular troops. The success of the French is attributable largely to the skill and boldness of De Gourgues. Gathering to his aid a large force of Indians, he created an impression of having a superior force, and by a bold attack confirmed this impression in the mind of the Spanish commander, who would not think it possible that he would be attacked by an inferior force. With a natural dread of the French retaliation, the Spaniards sought safety in flight, when a bold defense would have forced the French to retire.

We cannot, in this age of a more enlightened Christianity, approve of the course of De Gourgues. We feel that it would have been more noble to have spared his captives and given an illustrious example of magnanimity to his enemies, but at that day such an instance of generosity would have been considered an act of egregious folly and attributed to timidity. De Gourgues had been, in reward for deeds of valor, consigned to the galleys, and was embittered against the Spaniards alike by his personal grievances and by the cruelty they had shown his countrymen, memorials of which perhaps still remained at Fort

Caroline to stimulate his purpose of retaliation. Thus incited, he believed he was the minister of divine vengeance to execute justice upon these "traitors, thieves, and murderers."

The atrocities of Menendez and the retaliation of De Gourgues are alike sad records of cruelty and vindictiveness by professedly Christian people invoking the countenance and blessing of Deity upon their acts, and deserve our strongest condemnation. To judge of these acts impartially we must go back to the relentless spirit of their time, when difference of faith was considered a crime to be punished with death, and rejoice that those days of blind fanaticism have passed away and freedom of conscience everywhere permitted.

CHAPTER XIX

Menendez returns to Florida—Sir Francis Drake makes an attack upon St. Augustine—The story of missions among the Indians and massacre of the missionaries.

A.D. 1567-1591

WHILE De Gourgues was thus visiting with swift destruction the Spanish garrisons on the St. John's River, Menendez still tarried in restless impatience at the Spanish court. Finally, having succeeded in obtaining a partial reimbursement of the funds he had expended, and also obtaining the appointment of governor of Cuba, he set sail on the 17th of March, 1568, and arrived in Florida shortly after the departure of De Gourgues. It was only on his arrival that he learned of De Gourgues's attack and terrible retribution. His proud spirit must have chafed with unavailing rage at the insulting and severe blow which had been dealt by so insignificant a force, but he had arrived too late to prevent or punish it. He found his garrisons demoralized and suffering from scarcity of food and insufficiency of clothing. The Indians, aroused by the successful inroad of De Gourgues, were everywhere in open hostility, and he found ample occupation in restoring order and reëstablishing his posts along the coast. He had brought with him ten brothers of the Order of St. Francis, and now paid particular attention to missions among the Indians, and, to his credit be it said, devoted himself with great zeal and earnestness to the good work. The success of the missionaries was not equal to their labors, for, it is said, "although the Indians asked many questions and gave apparent attention to the explanations and

instructions of the worthy fathers while the corn which was daily given them lasted, yet when that was gone they likewise disappeared" ; and although four of the fathers labored in one locality most assiduously for a year, they succeeded in baptizing only seven, of whom four were children and the others at the point of death.

These missions were soon widely established; from Cape Florida they reached along the coast northwardly to St. Helena, and an attempt was made, even at this early period, to plant a mission on the shores of the Chesapeake, then called the province of Axiocan.

Menendez had brought back with him an Indian who had been carried to Spain some time previously and educated in the Roman Catholic faith. This convert, Don Luis, now proposed to guide a band of missionaries to his native province, of which his brother was the cacique or chief. An expedition having been fitted out, a party of missionaries, consisting of Father Segura, vice-provincial, with five other priests and four junior brothers of the Order of St. Francis, under the guidance of Don Luis, sailed to the Chesapeake, on the shores of which they landed. The treacherous convert pretended to conduct them into the country, but procured the massacre on the way of the whole party, except one of the junior brothers, who was afterwards surrendered to Menendez. In the following year Menendez sailed to the Chesapeake, captured some of the Indians supposed to have participated in the massacre, and hung eight of them. Had this mission succeeded, Virginia might have become a Spanish possession. The importance of Florida soon declined in public estimation. No gold or precious stones had been found, and the inhabitants had to be supported by constant supplies of provisions. The colony languished, and was only sustained by the personal exertions of Menendez, to whom it was a profitless position. Finally, leaving the colony in the hands of his relative, Pedro Menendez Marquis, he himself

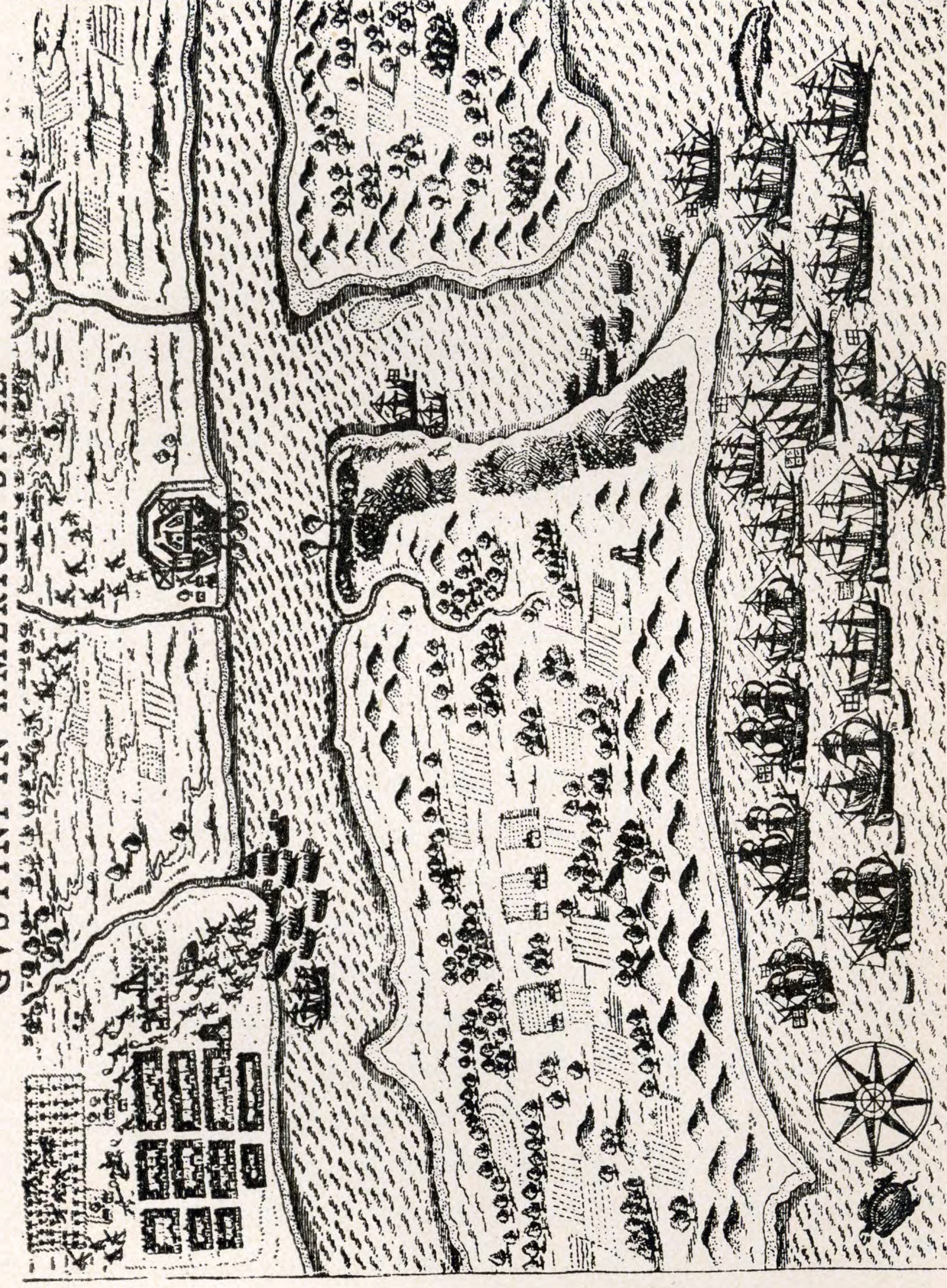
returned to Spain, where his high reputation gave him position at court as one of the king's counselors, and it is said that no important enterprise was undertaken without his advice.

In the year 1574 he was made captain-general of the Spanish fleet, but at the mature age of fifty-five, at the summit of his honors and surrounded with devoted followers, attracted by his brilliant reputation, when on the point of assuming the command of a great armada of three hundred vessels, he was attacked by a violent fever and died after a short illness. Some, indeed, allege that he put an end to his own existence. Menendez combined with many admirable and heroic qualities others which have left a stain upon his name and memory. He possessed many of the virtues of a great leader, and which, on a larger field, would have made him illustrious. Unfortunately, he was a cruel bigot, and was placed in a position calculated to develop the worst traits of his character. Instead of being remembered as the victor on some well-fought field, his name recalls only the heap of murdered prisoners at Matanzas and those so cruelly gibbeted at Fort Caroline, "not as Frenchmen, but as Lutherans." Under a leader of less resolution, Florida would have been abandoned within a few years of its occupation. But little progress was made in the settlement of the country, and that mostly through military posts, established as a protection to the missionaries engaged in endeavoring to secure the conversion of the Indians.

In 1580, some fifteen years subsequent to the settlement of St. Augustine, Sir Francis Drake, the celebrated English free-rover, returning from a freebooting expedition against the Spanish settlements in the West Indies and on the Spanish Main, espied a lookout on Anastasia Island, opposite to St. Augustine. The English landed a piece of ordnance, and, planting it opposite the fort, fired two shots, the first of which passed through the royal standard of Spain waving over the fort, and the second struck the ramparts. As it was nearly dark he

EXPUGNATIO CIVITATIS S. AV.

GVSTINI IN AMERICA SITÆ.



SIR FRANCIS DRAKE'S ATTACK ON ST. AUGUSTINE

attempted nothing further that evening, but, sending a boat in to reconnoiter the harbor, several shots were fired at it from the fort, which was at the time being evacuated by the Spanish garrison, consisting of one hundred and fifty men, who supposed themselves about to be attacked by the whole English force.

In the mean time a French piper, playing the Prince of Orange march, approached the English camp in a canoe and reported himself as one of the garrison, and informed Drake of the evacuation of the fort, offering to act as guide to the English forces.

In the morning the boats were manned and approached the fort, which they found deserted, the garrison having left in such haste that the treasure-chest, containing two thousand pounds sterling, was left behind and fell into the hands of Drake. The fort was built of trunks of large pine trees, with a palisade, but without ditches, and was in an unfinished condition. Owing to heavy rains and intervening creeks, the English were not able to reach the town by land, but, upon approaching it in boats, the inhabitants, after a slight show of resistance, fled towards San Mateo. The English sergeant-major, pursuing the fugitives, was shot from ambush, and the English in retaliation pillaged and then burned the town. It seems probable that the fort then existing was built at the head of Cano de la Leche, considerably north of the present fort, and that the town was on the point near to and south of the barracks. Drake then left, intending to visit San Mateo and St. Helena, but was prevented from doing so by stormy weather. St. Augustine then contained a parish church, a hall of justice, and a monastery. The combined garrison force of St. Augustine, San Mateo, and St. Helena amounted to but four hundred men.

St. Augustine was rebuilt after the departure of Drake. Twelve brothers of the Order of St. Francis came in 1593 and

occupied missions in the interior, the principal mission being on the island called Guale, now Amelia Island.

Five years afterwards the son of the chief of Guale, dissatisfied with the restrictions and censures of the priests, incited a general conspiracy for the destruction of the missions and the mission fathers. In the suburbs of St. Augustine were two Indian villages, called respectively Tolomato and Topiqui. At midnight the young chief of Guale and his followers made an attack upon Father Corpa, who was in charge of the mission of Tolomato, and dispatched him with their hatchets. Then, being urged by their leader to complete their work, the band hastened to Topiqui, where they entered the habitation of Father Rodriguez, who begged the privilege of celebrating mass before he died. This they accorded him, but he had no sooner concluded than they fell upon him with the utmost fury, killing him at the very foot of the altar, and from there dragging out his lifeless body, cast it into the fields. They thence went to the Indian town of Assopo, on the island of Guale, where were two friars, Fathers Aunon and Badajoz, whom they quickly slew, their bodies being afterwards buried at the foot of a high cross which Father Aunon had himself erected.

From Guale the infuriated savages went to the Indian town of Asao, where a friar resided by the name of Velascola, a man of great humility and earnest piety, but endowed with remarkable strength, and of whom on this account the natives stood in great awe. Becoming aware of their hostile intentions, he embarked alone for St. Augustine in a canoe. Enraged at his escape, the Indians hastened to intercept him if possible at the place where he would land near St. Augustine. Reaching this place in advance of him, they concealed themselves in the thickets, and, stealing upon him as he landed, seized him from behind and struck him repeated blows with their clubs and hatchets until they had taken his life. Their thirst for blood still unslaked, they proceeded to Ospo, where Father Davila was

stationed, who, hearing their yells and being made aware of his danger, sought safety by flight to the surrounding forest. But the night being clear and the moon at the full, they soon discovered him, and wounded him with their arrows. As he was seized and was about being sacrificed, he was saved by the intercession of an Indian woman, who claimed him as a captive and carried him to the interior, where he was forced to perform the lowest menial service, accompanied with much ill usage and severe treatment. Tired of their captive, they at last determined to complete their measure of vengeance against the missionaries by burning him alive. He was brought out for this purpose, and bound with thongs to a post in the center of the village. The fuel was heaped about him and the torch was about to be applied, when an Indian mother whose son was held prisoner by the Spaniards at St. Augustine begged that the priest might be delivered to her that she might exchange him for her son. With great difficulty she at last succeeded in having Father Davila released from his great peril and delivered to his friends in exchange for her son.

All the outlying missions had now been visited by the ruthless savages except that at San Pedro. With upwards of fifty canoes they made a vigorous assault upon that mission, but were repulsed by a friendly chief, whose tribe were at enmity with the assailants, who followed up his success with such vigor that all who had landed were destroyed, and the remainder forced to seek safety in flight.

In this massacre five priests perished, and Father Davila was so maltreated that when he was delivered to his friends they were unable to recognize him. The governor proceeded immediately to visit with exemplary punishment the Indians supposed to be implicated in the slaughter of the missionaries, burning the dwellings and granaries of those whom he could not more directly reach.

In the year 1612--13 thirty-one missionaries belonging to the

Order of St. Francis were sent to Florida, which was now erected into a religious province of that order by the name of St. Helena, the principal house of which was at Havana. A catechism in the Indian language had already been prepared and printed, being, it is believed, the first work in the Indian language ever published.

Three years later twelve more Franciscan brothers arrived, and such progress was made that in the ensuing two years there were now established twenty missions, scattered among the principal Indian towns. In the year 1638 a war broke out between the Spanish colonists and the Appalachee Indians, and, although the garrison at St. Augustine did not number more than one hundred effective men, the governor succeeded in driving the Indians back to their towns. A considerable number of the Appalachee prisoners were set to work at the fortifications of St. Augustine, and they and their descendants were kept thus employed for sixty years.

St. Augustine in 1647 contained only three hundred householders or heads of families, while the Convent of St. Francis had fifty brothers in residence.

The succession of the house of Menendez had now terminated. Pedro Menendez perished at the hands of the Indians; Hernando de Alas, his son-in-law, succeeded him; Diego de Rebellado was governor from 1655 to 1675, and was succeeded by Don Juan Salacar, who held office until 1680, and was succeeded by Juan Marquez Cabrera.

The settlement of Virginia had been commenced in 1607, and other colonies to the north had been planted by the English and Dutch without opposition from the Spanish crown. The wide interval between the English and Spanish settlements for a time prevented any collision, and the spirit of Menendez no longer animated his successors.

CHAPTER XX

Settlement of Carolina and French exploration of the Mississippi—Collisions between the English and Spanish settlements—Pensacola settled by the Spaniards and Mobile by the French.

A.D. 1663-1696

It was not until 1663, when the charter of Carolina was granted by Charles II., that the English settlements trenched upon the ground which the Spaniards had all along claimed. With the settlement of Carolina there at once grew up a hostile feeling which lasted for a century between these neighboring colonies. In truth there was never a time when English and Spanish people did not distrust and hate each other, and, although nominally peaceful relations were assumed to exist, yet the subjects of the two crowns were always ready to injure each other whenever the opportunity occurred. It was partly a political and, in a considerable degree, a religious antagonism.

At this period the power of England was greatly augmented by the growth of a sturdy class of sea-rovers, who largely made up for the weakness of numbers of her land forces by their prowess at sea. Buccaneers, sea-rovers, privateers, or how else they might be called, abounded in the western seas, and were ever ready to sack a town, seize upon treasure-ships, or engage any vessel that they chose to consider an enemy.

In 1665 one of these freebooting expeditions, under Capt. John Davis, made a descent upon St. Augustine with seven small vessels and an inconsiderable force. Little resistance was made by the Spanish garrison of two hundred men, and the

town was pillaged by the English freebooters. The ill feeling between Florida and Carolina grew apace, the Spaniards alleging that the pirates or freebooters, as they were called, who preyed upon their commerce, were received and sheltered in the harbors of Carolina, an accusation which was but too true. The Carolinians, on the other hand, complained that the Spanish authorities in Florida endeavored to incite the Indians to acts of hostility against them, and also to seduce their servants from them, and harbored them in St. Augustine. In 1676 the Spaniards sent a force to attack the colonists on the Ashley River, on the coast of South Carolina, but the colonists entrenched themselves and the Spaniards were forced to retire. Ten years later three galleys from St. Augustine made an attack on a Scotch settlement on Port Royal Island, which had been established by Lord Cardross. The settlers were unable to protect themselves, and their houses were pillaged. The galleys then ascended the North Edisto River to Bear's Bluff, where they landed, pillaged, and burned the houses. Much property of the settlers was carried off, and some who were taken prisoners were treated with indignity. A brother of Governor Morton was allowed to perish by the burning of the boat on which he was confined—acts which naturally aroused the indignation of the Carolinians.

Don Juan Marquez Cabrera, the Spanish governor, about the year 1687 attempted to remove the various Indian tribes of Apalachees, Cowetas, and Casicas, as well as those of San Felipe, San Simon, San Catalina, Sapalo, and others, to the islands on the coast and to the banks of the St. John's. This occasioned an insurrection of all the tribes. Several of them removed within the limits of Carolina, and subsequently made an incursion into Florida, attacked the towns of the Timuquas, robbed the Church and Convent of St. Francis of the plate and vestments, burned the town of Tomuqua, killed a large number of Christian Indians, and carried many others away as prisoners to St.

Helena, where they were reduced to servitude. At this comparatively late period in the history of America, by the perseverance and energy of Monsieur de la Salle, the course of the Mississippi was traversed in boats from the country of the Illinois to the Gulf of Mexico. Although one hundred and seventeen years had passed since the actual settlement and occupation of Florida by the Spaniards, the spirit of enterprise and discovery had so far died out that the information acquired through the expeditions of Narvaez, De Soto, and De Luna of the existence of vast and fertile regions, magnificent rivers and lakes, had not stimulated the Spanish explorers to undertake the occupation of these rich lands lying within the limits claimed by them as Florida. It was left to the insignificant expedition of La Salle, who, entering the river from the region of the great lakes, embarked in slight canoes, and, almost unarmed, floated down the mighty flood of the great river to the sea, and thus conferred upon France the right of appropriating the finest portion of the American continent, the great valley of the Mississippi, to which they gave the name of their monarch, Louisiana.

Spain, indifferent to colonization on her own account, was always jealous of what she deemed the encroachment of others. La Salle's successful voyage aroused her to the necessity of making good her claims to a part at least of the extensive region about to pass under the control of France. Hitherto she had been content to occupy the single fortified post at St. Augustine, and to plant and support some scattered missions. In 1692 an expedition was fitted out by the viceroy of New Spain to explore the harbors on the Gulf of Mexico. At that time the Spanish plate-fleets from Mexico to Spain followed the course of the Gulf Stream, sweeping around the southern extremity of Florida to Havana and thence by the Bahama Channel along the eastern coast of Florida. In the course of years many vessels had been wrecked on these shores, and many lives and much

treasure had been lost. In 1696 Pensacola was occupied by a Spanish force and a fort built and garrisoned. The town was located at what is now known as Barrancas. A fort of quadrilateral form, a church, and other public buildings were erected. Andres Arriola was appointed the first governor of the province.

Three years later D'Iberville arrived on the coast with three vessels sent out by Louis XIV. to establish a colony in Louisiana. He touched at Pensacola, then occupied by a force of three hundred Spanish troops. Passing westwardly, he entered Mobile Bay and landed on an island which he named Massacre Island, subsequently known as Dauphin Island. Here he planted the first French colony located in the south after the destruction of the Huguenots in 1565. The Spaniards called the Mississippi the River of Palisades, from the number of tall trees standing singly along the shores. The English called it Messachebe. The English about the same time sent out an expedition to take possession of the country bordering on the Mississippi, but they were too late. D'Iberville had already occupied the country.

The interior of Florida west of the Suwanee River was mainly occupied by the Appalachee Indians. The tribe of Calos was in the southern portion, and the Timuquas on the eastern coast. Many of these Indian names have survived—Appalachee, Tomoka, etc. There does not seem to have been much progress made in the civilization of the Indians during the Spanish rule. The natural ferocity of these savage tribes, their freedom from restraint and warlike propensities, made them impenetrable at heart to the claims of the Christian faith, which inculcated love and forbearance. Over one hundred years had now elapsed since Menendez had planted the standard of Spain on the coast of Florida, and a vast amount of labor and treasure had been expended in the almost fruitless effort to occupy and Christianize the country.

At the beginning of the seventeenth century no European colony existed on the Atlantic coast of North America except St. Augustine. In 1607, forty-two years after the founding of St. Augustine, Jamestown, in Virginia, was settled by the English, and thirteen years later, in 1620, the Plymouth colony landed on the shores of New England. In the course of the next fifty years settlements were made on the Atlantic coast by the French, English, Dutch, and Swedes, and from the Gulf of St. Lawrence to Port Royal, in South Carolina, flourishing settlements had been planted and a very considerable commerce had grown up under the fostering care of their respective governments.

During the seventeenth century Spain possessed by right of discovery and partial occupation a claim to the most valuable portion of the American continent ; but the history of this one hundred years is a record only of feeble and spasmodic efforts at colonization and timid exploration of the region adjoining the military posts. Pensacola and St. Mark's had been established as advanced and isolated posts, and a few others, but the history of Florida during this period presents but little more than a chronicle of the changes of governors and petty details of unimportant local events. Having the fertile valley of the Mississippi, the rich plains of Texas, the productive valleys and uplands of Alabama, Tennessee, and Kentucky within their reach, no explorations had been made into even the gold fields of upper Georgia, no colonies planted, no empire founded, and in this magnificent and then vacant domain the result of over one hundred years of Spanish domination was three small fortified towns and a few mission houses. It is, indeed, quite probable that in the year 1700 they knew less of the country than Menendez did within ten years after his arrival. The mines of Mexico and the riches of the Spanish Main had drawn the attention of the Spanish monarchy from the more enduring wealth and power to be derived from a fertile and populous

region. The Spanish force of character, the spirit of adventure, the characteristics of such men as Cortez and De Soto, had departed, and the great Spanish monarchy, which at one time seemed to control the destiny of America, had sensibly declined both here and elsewhere.

CHAPTER XXI

Governor Moore, of South Carolina, makes an attack upon St. Augustine—
Afterwards overruns much of middle Florida, destroying Spanish posts and Indian missions.

A.D. 1702-1704

FROM the first settlement of Carolina by the English, constant sources of irritation and difficulty sprang up between the English and Spanish settlements. The Spaniards considered the English as intruders upon their rightful territory, and, moreover, the old religious animosities animated both parties. The alliance of the Indian tribes was desired by each, and became a subject of contention. It will be recollected that in 1686 Spaniards from St. Augustine had made an incursion upon the English settlement at Port Royal, and had left behind the memory of grievous injuries to be atoned for. During Governor Archdale's administration in South Carolina tolerably amicable relations were maintained ; but he was succeeded by Governor Moore, an ambitious man, who, it is said, had obtained office by questionable means and desired to accomplish something to signalize his administration. Under his influence the assembly of South Carolina was induced to authorize, in 1702, an expedition against St. Augustine, which was understood to be capable of very little defense. Many of the settlers in South Carolina had lost negroes, who had gone to the Spaniards and had been protected by them, and many others, no doubt, were quite willing to profit by the result of an invasion among the Spanish Indians, who might be reduced to a state of servitude.

A rupture having occurred between England and Spain,

Governor Moore embraced the opportunity thus afforded for an invasion of Florida, which he was induced to do, as was charged, by motives of personal gain rather than national advantage. The governor set forth the little risk and the great advantage of such an expedition ; secured sufficient followers, and an appropriation of two thousand pounds from the assembly, a very considerable sum for a new colony of a few thousand inhabitants to raise outside of their other expenses.

The force needed to carry out the enterprise was fixed at six hundred provincial militia, to be assisted by an equal number of Indian allies. The attack was to be made by land and sea, the land forces to go by the inland passage in boats to the St. John's River and thence up that river to Picolata, from which point they were to march overland and take St. Augustine in the rear. The other part of the expedition was to proceed in vessels under the command of Governor Moore, direct to St. Augustine and coöperate with the land forces, which were placed under command of Colonel Daniel. Colonel Daniel's portion of the expedition reached St. Augustine in advance of the vessels.

The Spanish governor had learned of the intended attack and had made all the preparations for defense within his power. Provisions were stored in the castle and preparations were made for a long siege.

As soon as Colonel Daniel arrived he attacked and gained possession of the town, the troops and inhabitants retiring to the protection of the castle. Governor Moore with his vessels arrived soon afterwards and invested the castle, but on account of the want of siege guns of large caliber no impression could be made upon the walls of the fort. Colonel Daniel was sent to Jamaica to procure heavier guns. While absent on this mission, three Spanish vessels appeared off the coast. Alarmed by the appearance of these vessels, and fearing that his retreat might be cut off, Governor Moore hastily raised the siege, abandoning or destroying such of his stores and munitions as

he was unable to remove. He was forced also to destroy his vessels, as he feared to encounter the Spanish vessels outside. Before retiring he committed the barbarity of burning the town. Colonel Daniel returned shortly afterwards, having succeeded in obtaining some mortars and heavy guns, and, being ignorant of the withdrawal of Governor Moore, narrowly escaped capture.

Governor Moore returned to Carolina without having lost a man from his force. The expedition, however, cost the colony of South Carolina some six thousand pounds, and led to the first issue of paper money ever circulated in America. In the same year the Spaniards had incited the Appalachee Indians to attack the English settlements in Carolina. They had assembled a force of nine hundred warriors and had commenced their march, when they encountered five hundred Creeks, who were allies of the English and had been organized by the Creek traders to repel the attack. The Creeks suspended their blankets in their camp, as though quietly reposing by their campfires, and placed themselves in ambush. The Appalachees, confident of an easy victory, rushed forward upon the supposed sleeping camp with great impetuosity, when they fell into the ambush prepared for them by the Creeks and were routed with great loss.

The loss which Governor Moore had inflicted by burning St. Augustine was a severe blow to its inhabitants. They received some assistance from Spain to help them rebuild, but were discouraged by their apparent helplessness, and urgent representations were made by Governor Cuniga to the home government for an increased force and larger means to repel the attacks of their English neighbors. In 1704 Governor Moore, having been severely criticised for his former failure, proposed to organize an expedition against the Spanish-Indian settlements in middle Florida. He was authorized to do so if he could raise a sufficient force without assistance from the public treasury.

This he undertook to do, and, with only fifty mounted men and the aid of about one thousand Creek Indians, he passed down through southwestern Georgia and fell upon the Indian towns of the Appalachians. The first town attacked was defended by fifty warriors, and was reduced after a stout resistance. On the following day the commander of the principal town, Fort San Luis, with a force of twenty-three Spaniards and four hundred Indians, encountered the English and the Creeks. Don Juan Mexia, the Spanish commander, was killed in the battle, with eight of the Spanish soldiers. The Appalachian Indians lost two hundred of their number. This battle decided the fate of all the Indian towns. The king of Atimiaca, who occupied a strong fort with a garrison of one hundred and thirty men, terrified by the defeat and death of Mexia, offered his submission. Governor Moore then visited all the Indian towns without experiencing further resistance. Five of the towns were fortified, and it is probable that, had Mexia met the English and Creeks behind his entrenchments, he might have repulsed them and rallied a sufficient force to drive them out of that region. Moore is said to have entirely destroyed two of the Indian towns, and to have carried away most of the people of seven others to be held as slaves, leaving only one town undestroyed, which made terms with him. The towns of San Luis, two miles west of Tallahassee, and Ayavalla, near the St. Mark's River, were burned with their chapels and forts. All of the towns were robbed of everything of value, including church plate, and desolation and ruin marked the track of the invaders.

The Indian missions in that part of the country were thoroughly broken up. The remains of these mission stations may yet be traced at several localities in Florida, and tradition has assigned them a far greater antiquity than they are really entitled to. Usually a small fort and chapel were erected together, surrounded with earthworks and ditches and with pali-

sades sufficient to withstand an attack from the Indians, the only enemies anticipated. The outlines of these earthworks may still be traced at Lake City and elsewhere.

The war between Great Britain, France, and Spain still continued in Europe, and in 1706 an expedition was projected by the French and Spanish to make a descent upon the Carolinians. M. Le Febre commanded a French frigate and four ships, with which he touched at St. Augustine to take on board Spanish troops to coöperate in an attack upon Charleston. Proceeding to the coast of Carolina, the frigate by mistake entered Sewee Bay, the four sloops entering Charleston harbor. By the exercise of great prudence and some strategy, the English governor was enabled to repel the attack, and eventually captured the frigate, with a large number of the Spanish allies.

Two years afterwards Colonel Barnwell, of South Carolina, made another incursion upon the Appalachee towns in middle Florida. After visiting San Luis and the region occupied by the missions, he passed on to the Alachua country and the St. John's River. It was perhaps at this period that Capt. T. Nairu, of South Carolina, with a party of Yemassees, penetrated to the headwaters of the St. John's River and the vicinity of Lake Okechobee and brought back a number of captives for slaves, as noted on one of the maps in Moll's Atlas of 1719.

The year 1714 was signalized by a great outbreak of the Indian tribes on the borders of South Carolina. This was charged to the instigation of the Spaniards. The Indians made a combined and powerful attack upon the English settlements, but were defeated and driven out of the province. Retreating southward into the Spanish possessions, they were gladly received. About four hundred of the Carolinians lost their lives in this outbreak. In the mean time French colonization had been pushed along the Gulf and upon the banks of the Mississippi. Their settlements were liberally supplied and reinforced from France, and some became permanent and pros-

perous communities. The settlements at Mobile and Pensacola were so near each other that jealousies and collisions naturally arose upon the question of possession and limits. For a long time the treasure-fleets sent from Mexico to Spain passed near the shores of Florida. In 1715 fourteen vessels, laden with a very large amount of gold and silver, were wrecked on Carysfort reef and an immense amount of treasure lost. Much of this was afterwards recovered by a party of Spaniards sent for this purpose, but the knowledge of this recovery, coming to the English at Jamaica, they sent an expedition to the point where the wreckers were engaged and robbed them of all they had recovered, amounting to three hundred and fifty thousand dollars. This is a notable illustration of the character and ideas of the people and of the times.

The Yemassees, who had been driven out of Carolina into Florida, kept up a constant and harassing warfare upon the English settlements, especially upon the families on the frontier. It seems to be well established that the Spanish authorities in Florida instigated this warfare and protected their allies. Many instances of savage barbarity are related. An historian of Carolina relates that at this period a scalping party of Yemassees from Florida penetrated as far as the Euhati lands, where, having surprised John Lent and two of his neighbors, they brained them with their tomahawks. They then seized Mrs. Barrows and one of her children and carried them off with them. The child, frightened by the presence of the savages, began to cry, when it was immediately killed before the eyes of its mother, and she was warned to cease her demonstrations of grief or she should share the fate of her child. She was then carried to St. Augustine, delivered to the Spanish governor, and thrown into prison against the remonstrance of one of the Yemassee chiefs, who related that he had known her a long time and that she was a good woman. Subsequently Mr. Barrow went to St. Augustine to procure his wife's release, but he, too,

was thrown into prison and died shortly afterwards. Mrs. Barrow was eventually allowed to return to Carolina, and gave an account of the barbarous treatment which she had received. She said that the Spaniards evinced great satisfaction at the number of scalps brought in by the Indians, and rewards were given to them to induce them to make these attacks, with instructions to spare none but negroes, who were to be brought to St. Augustine. Don Juan d'Ayala was at this time governor of East Florida. Benavides succeeded D'Ayala as governor of St. Augustine, De Salinas of Pensacola. Salinas was succeeded in 1717 by Pedro Metamoras.

At the instance of the Appalachee Indians, Ribera, the governor of St. Augustine, erected a fort at St. Mark's in 1718, which was named San Marcos de Apalache. In the same year the French erected a fort on St. Joseph's Bay, which they named Fort Crevecœur, which seems to have been a favorite name with the French. The Spanish governor remonstrated against this occupation of Florida, and the post was soon abandoned.

CHAPTER XXII

Pensacola captured by the French—Regained by the Spaniards and recaptured by the French.

A.D. 1719

MONSIEUR DE BIENVILLE, the French commander at Dauphin Island, being informed that hostilities existed between Spain and France, fitted out an expedition in May, 1719, against Pensacola, and, having sent a large force of Indians by land, embarked his troops on board of three vessels to make a sudden descent, with the hope of capturing the Spanish fort by surprise.

He landed upon Santa Rosa Island, where there was an outpost, the garrison of which he soon overpowered, and, some of the French troops putting on the uniforms of their captives, awaited the coming of a detachment sent to relieve the post, whom they disarmed on their arrival.

Taking the boat which had brought over the Spaniards, the French, still disguised, passed over to the fort, seized the sentinel on duty, and took possession of the guard-house and fort, taking prisoner the commander in his bed, and thus captured the whole place without having fired a shot. Such is the French account of the matter.

The Spanish authorities say that the fort was assaulted by four French frigates, which opened fire upon the castle of San Carlos, and, after five hours of cannonading, the castle being unable to reply effectively, having only a garrison of one hundred and sixty men and provisions for only fifteen days, surrendered on condition of being allowed to march out with the honors of

war, that they should be sent in French vessels to Havana, and that the town should not be sacked nor private property molested. Both accounts can hardly be exactly true.

The garrison was carried to Havana, where, by the perfidy of the Spanish commander at that place, the vessels were seized and their crews and officers cast into prison. At the instance of Governor Metamoras, immediate steps were taken for the recapture of Pensacola. Bienville had placed a garrison of only sixty men in the Spanish fort, under the command of *Sieur de Chateaugue*. The Spaniards fitted out the vessel called the *Duc de Noailles*, which they had perfidiously taken from the French at Havana, and a Spanish frigate to endeavor to retake the fort from the French. The ruse was adopted of sending in the French ship first, which, on being hailed, ran up the French flag and gave the name of the French captain who had formerly commanded her, and was thereupon allowed to pass into port. When abreast of the fort she was joined by her consort, the flag of Spain displayed, and the garrison summoned to surrender. A brisk cannonade ensued, with but trifling damage to the garrison. In order to gain time, *Chateaugue* asked an armistice of four days. The Spanish captain allowed him two days, and *Chateaugue* sent a message to Mobile for assistance, which Bienville was unable to send. At the expiration of the two days the action was resumed until night, during which most of the garrison escaped, and on the following day the fort was surrendered, and what was left of the garrison sent as prisoners of war to Havana. The Spanish commander thereupon proceeded to strengthen the fortification, and having, as he deemed, sufficiently secured the place from assault, set out with the forces under his command to attack the French settlement at Dauphin Island. Owing to the skill and courage of Bienville, the Spaniards, although superior in numbers, were unable to effect a landing, and, five French vessels coming up, the Spanish retired to Pensacola. The French at Dauphin Island, now strongly

reinforced, determined in turn to recapture Pensacola, and soon afterwards landed a force on the Perdido to assail the town in the rear, while their fleet proceeded by sea. Some difficulty was experienced in carrying the flagship, the *Hercules*, which drew twenty-one feet of water, into Pensacola Bay, but by the skill of a Canadian pilot she crossed the bar safely. For this service the pilot received a patent of nobility, of questionable value to him.

The French say that, upon the appearance of their land forces, accompanied by a large body of Indians, the garrison, after a very feeble resistance, retired to a new fort which they had hastily erected on Point Siguenza, called Principe de Asturias. The Spanish accounts, however, say they fought with most heroic valor until their guns were dismounted at Siguenza, and their vessels forced to surrender, and that the French vessels, having then entered the harbor, the castle was forced to surrender. This took place September 18, 1719.

The French account of the capture awards great credit to the commander at Fort Principe de Asturias for his gallant defense, which was continued until his ammunition failed, while it is said that the commander of Fort San Carlos displayed great cowardice.

On the following day a Spanish vessel entered the harbor with supplies and dispatches from the governor at Havana to the governor of Pensacola, the dispatches saying that he was confident that the Spanish forces had succeeded in conquering all the places held by the French in that country, and directing all prisoners to be sent to Havana to work in the mines, in order to avoid the expense of feeding them.

The French commander, feeling unable to spare the force to effectually hold the place, concluded to destroy the fortifications and the public buildings, burn the town, leaving only a few small buildings to shelter a guard left in charge of one small battery.

~~✱~~ Before leaving, the French commander caused the following inscription to be inscribed upon a tablet placed on the ruins of the fort : " In the year 1719, upon the 18th day of September, M. Desnade de Champmeslin, commander of the squadron of his most Christian Majesty, took this place by force of arms, as well as the Island of Santa Rosa, by order of the king of France." After returning first to Dauphin Island, the French fleet afterwards sailed for France, carrying with them the Spanish garrison of Pensacola as prisoners of war.

Thus, after having been thrice assaulted and thrice captured within a period of three months, Pensacola was laid in ashes, and the quiet of desolation brooded over the spot, for there was no longer anything to capture or anything to defend. The town, first built by the Spaniards, and destroyed in 1719, was built in the vicinity of Barrancas. On the opposite point, called Point Siguenza, Port Principe de Asturias had stood, and was destroyed at the same time as Fort Carlos. In 1722, by a treaty of peace between France and Spain, Pensacola, or what was left of it, was restored to the Spanish crown with West Florida. ✓

When the harbor was reoccupied in 1722 by the Spaniards the town was rebuilt on Santa Rosa Island, near where Fort Pickens now stands. This location was occupied until some time between 1743 and 1763, when, the inhabitants having begun to plant upon the northern side of the bay, and the location upon the island being sterile and sandy, the settlement was gradually transferred to the north side of the bay, and in 1763 the present town was laid out in the form of a city, the streets crossing each other at right angles, making blocks of four hundred by two hundred feet, with a large common fronting on the bay about fifteen hundred feet in length by one thousand in breadth. The present city of Pensacola may be considered to date back its existence to the year 1750.

In the mean time the difficulties between the neighboring

provinces of Florida and Carolina had increased. The Spanish authorities at St. Augustine harbored as well as encouraged the negroes who deserted from the English settlements, against the continued and urgent remonstrances of the governor of Carolina. The Spanish authorities, it was claimed, had connived at, if not actually incited, the incursions of the Yemassees upon the exposed frontier of the English colony. To guard against these forays a small fort had been erected on the banks of the Altamaha, called Fort George. This was regarded by the Spanish authorities as an encroachment upon Spanish territory, and representations were accordingly made to the British crown. A conference of the two governors was thereupon directed to be held to endeavor to settle amicably the points in dispute between the two provinces. For this purpose Don Francisco Menendez and Don José Ribera came to Charleston in 1725 to confer with Governor Middleton. In reply to the claim of the Spanish envoys that the fort at the mouth of the Altamaha was within the limits of Florida, Governor Middleton showed them that it was built within the bounds of the charter which granted to the proprietors of South Carolina all the lands between the 31st and 36th degrees of north latitude, and that the pretensions of Spain to such lands were groundless. To Governor Middleton's demand for their reasons for protecting felons and debtors and encouraging negroes to leave their masters, they answered that the king of Spain felt himself obliged by humanity and religion to issue such orders for the sake of converting slaves to the Christian faith. Nothing was settled by this conference, but shortly afterwards the fort at Altamaha was burned by design or accident and abandoned. As no settlement of boundaries had been arrived at, the Indians in alliance with Spain continued to harass the English settlements, killing white men and carrying off negroes. To put a stop to this condition of affairs, Colonel Palmer, in 1727, raised a force of three hundred volunteers and a body of friendly Indians,

with which he made a rapid descent upon the Indian and Spanish settlements in Florida. Pushing forward to the very gates of St. Augustine, he compelled the inhabitants to again take refuge in the fort. Hardly a house or hut in the colony escaped destruction, provisions were destroyed in the fields, stock carried off, and the Yemassee towns burned. This chastisement seems to have for a time at least repressed further incursions on the part of Spanish Indians upon the English settlements.

CHAPTER XXIII

Siege of St. Augustine by Oglethorpe.

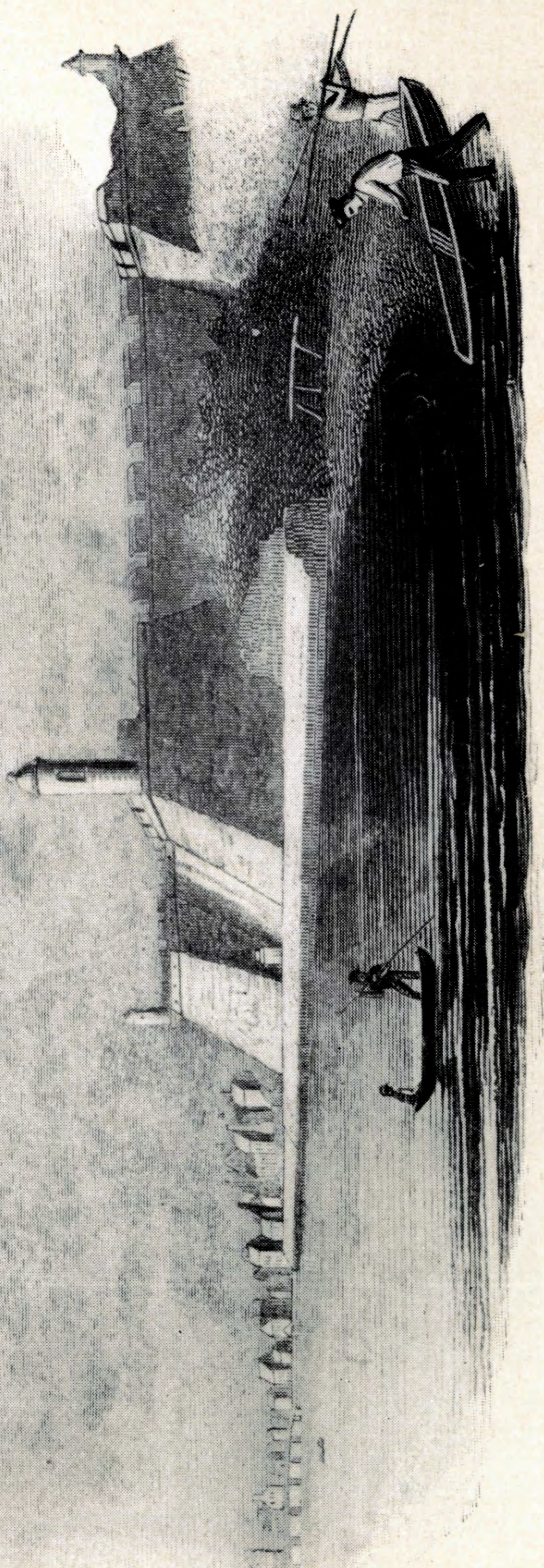
A.D. 1740

THE English settlement of Carolina was begun in 1670, at Port Royal, and in the following year at Charleston. The occupation of the country had never extended south of the Savannah River except in the building and brief occupancy of Fort George, at the mouth of the Altamaha.

In 1730 a scheme was set on foot by Sir Robert Montgomery and his associates for colonizing the country lying between the Savannah and Altamaha Rivers for the benefit of the very poor immigrants. This district was named Azalia, and is shown on Moll's Atlas of 1719. This particular scheme, however, fell through, but led to the formation of a larger plan for vesting in trustees the region of country between the Savannah and the Altamaha River, for the benefit of poor but industrious settlers, under the designation of Georgia, for which letters patent were issued in 1732. Sixty-two years after the settlement of Carolina, Governor Oglethorpe accompanied the first settlers to Savannah. A settlement of Scotch Highlanders was formed on the banks of the Altamaha and a fort was built at Frederica.

In 1736 the Spanish governor at St. Augustine sent a commissioner to Governor Oglethorpe, requiring him to surrender at once and evacuate all the lands south of St. Helena Sound, as they belonged to the king of Spain, who was determined not to allow them to be occupied by any other nation. Oglethorpe maintained the right of the English crown to all the territory

1560



THE CASTLE OF SAN MARCO AT ST. AUGUSTINE



PORTRAIT OF GENERAL OGLETHORPE

occupied by him, and declined to comply with the requirements of the Spanish governor. From the imperious nature of the demand, Oglethorpe rightly conjectured that he might expect soon an armed invasion of his territory, and he proceeded at once to England to direct the attention of the crown to the dangers that menaced his infant colony.

English commerce had already suffered severely from the interference of Spain, and a feeling of hostility to Spanish pretensions occupied the public mind. Supported by the king and aided by popular sentiment, Oglethorpe was able to make preparations for the protection of Georgia against the anticipated attack. He returned to Georgia in 1739 with the commission of major-general, a regiment of soldiers, and considerable pecuniary aid, and on his arrival proceeded to erect forts and put the province in a state of defense. The Spanish forces at St. Augustine were largely increased, and both sides labored assiduously to strengthen themselves for the conflict by securing the alliance of the neighboring Indian tribes. Of these the Creeks were the most powerful, and they took sides with the English. Negotiations were in the mean time being carried on. The English demanded redress for the injuries inflicted upon their commerce, for which the Spaniards agreed to make payment provided the territory occupied by Oglethorpe was given up, which was refused, and so the negotiations failed. The Spanish authorities at St. Augustine sent emissaries to the borders of Carolina to entice away negroes, promising them freedom and protection. Many negroes had gone to them from time to time, a sufficient number, it was said, to form a regiment, which was placed on the same footing as the Spanish regulars.

In October, 1739, war was declared by Great Britain against Spain, and a squadron was sent to the West Indies to coöperate with Oglethorpe in his intended operations against the Spanish province of Florida. He at once planned an expedition to

operate against St. Augustine, and visited South Carolina to engage assistance from that colony, as a result of which a joint expedition by land and sea was agreed upon.

Carolina raised a regiment of four hundred men, under Colonel Vanderdussen. The assistance of several Indian tribes was secured, and a naval force to consist of four twenty-gun ships and two sloops was to take part in the attack. Oglethorpe had ascertained that the garrison was not very strong and was poorly provisioned, and therefore urged forward his preparations with great vigor, in order to make the attack before Spanish reinforcements arrived. It was the latter part of April, however, before he was ready to move.

In the mean time Monteano, the energetic Spanish governor, had learned of the contemplated attack, and had strengthened his defenses. The garrison was increased, the approaches to the fort guarded, and the most earnest solicitations for a supply of provisions made on the governor of Havana. There were only a few Spanish outposts held by detachments outside of St. Augustine. One was on Cumberland Island, but was withdrawn on account of its distance and isolation. Another, called St. Nicolas, was on the St. John's River, near the mouth ; and two at Picolata, up the river, in the rear of St. Augustine ; the largest on the west bank of the river, called San Francis de Poppa, and which held a garrison of sixty men ; the other at Picolata, on the east bank, had only ten men. These forts were designed to keep in check the Indians, and to protect the route from St. Augustine to St. Mark's. A detachment from St. Augustine had recently landed on Amelia Island and killed two unarmed sick men, cut off their heads, and mangled their bodies. Oglethorpe shortly afterwards pursued them into Florida, swept the River St. John's, landed and drove in the Spanish outposts, hunting their cattle and ravaging the country. He seems to have considered the west bank of the St. John's as within the English limits, and in an official communi-

cation speaks of the building of San Francis de Poppa as a Spanish encroachment. Lieutenant Dunbar, with a small force, attacked Fort Picolata, but failed to take it. In January, 1740, Oglethorpe headed an expedition against San Francis de Poppa and captured it, placing a garrison there and adding to its strength. Oglethorpe's policy was to prevent aggression, by assuming the initiative, to attack before being attacked. He had at his command the regiment of regulars just arrived from England, a company of Scotch Highlanders who had settled on the Altamaha, and a force of friendly Indians. Carolina was to furnish a regiment four hundred strong, and he was to have the coöperation of four English frigates of twenty guns.

Having by his operations in December and January aroused the Spanish authorities to preparations for defense, Oglethorpe felt the importance of following up his attack as speedily as possible, but, as is usual with such expeditions made up of contingents and lacking order and discipline, there were delays, so that it was the last of May before the land forces reached the mouth of the St. John's River, about forty miles north of St. Augustine. About midway between the mouth of the St. John's and St. Augustine there was a small fort and garrison, called San Diego, which, on the arrival of Oglethorpe, was evacuated by its garrison. About two miles north of St. Augustine was Fort Moosa, usually called the negro fort, it having been constructed for fugitive slaves from Carolina. It was built near the North River in open ground, was square, with a flanker in each corner, banked around with earth, surrounded by a ditch lined with prickly palmettoes, and contained a house, a well, and a lookout.

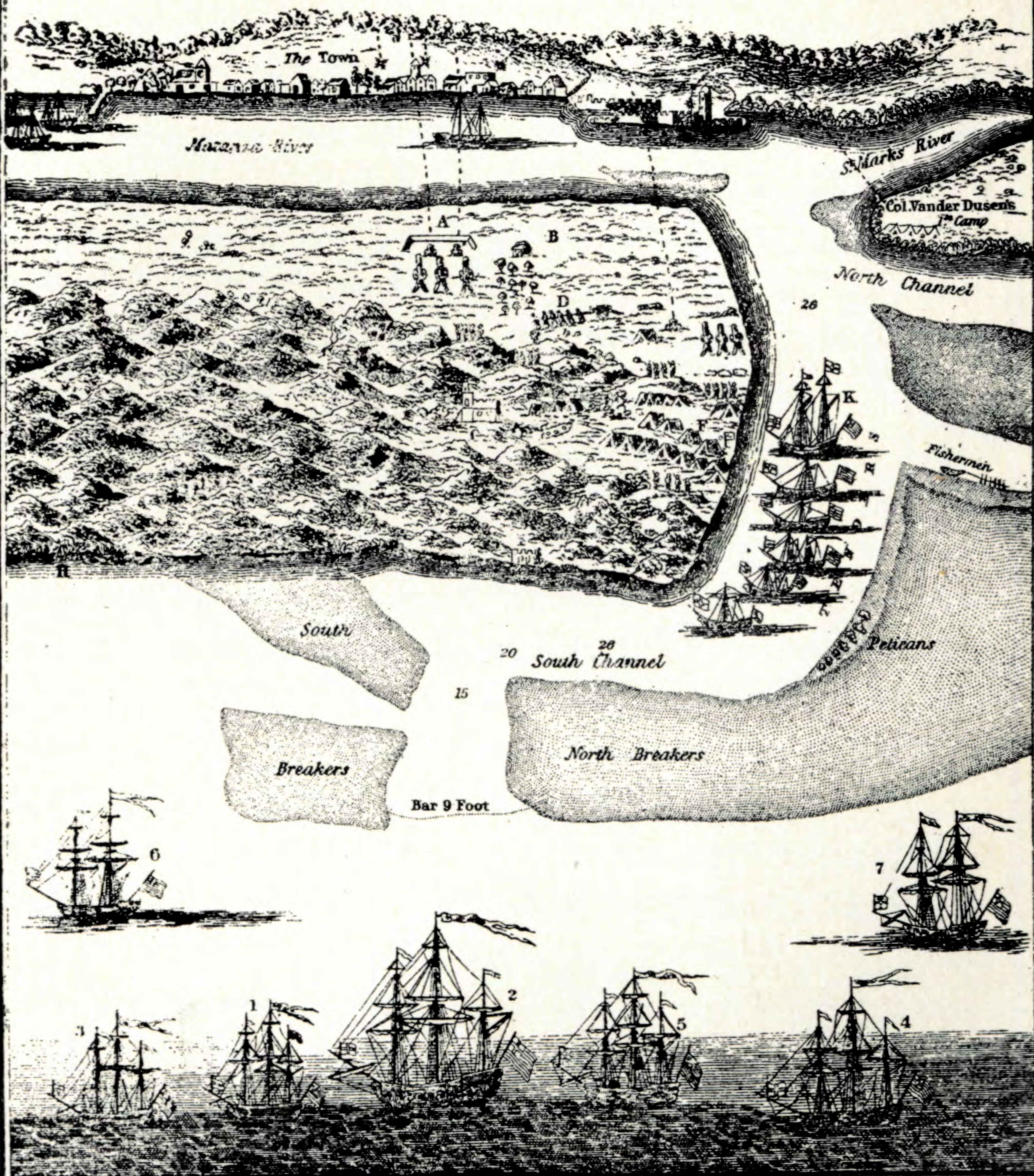
The English found Fort Moosa deserted and partially destroyed it, but afterwards concluded to occupy it. Colonel Palmer was stationed there with one hundred and thirty-three men, comprising McIntosh's Highlanders and some infantry, mounted men, and also some Indians. Palmer protested

against remaining isolated with so small a force. Lieutenant Bryant, after a reconnoissance, reported the town to be in great confusion, and recommended an immediate attack. Oglethorpe, making a reconnoissance in person, was unwilling to expose his men in so hazardous an attack upon a strong fortress, and decided to fall back to Diego and await the arrival of the Carolina troops under Colonel Vanderdussen, who arrived on the 6th of June, and the fleet appeared at the same time. Oglethorpe proceeded to erect batteries on Anastasia Island, opposite the fort, and opened fire on the 24th of June. The main battery was located on the point opposite the fort, and mounted four eighteen-pounders and one nine-pounder. Another battery was placed on some high, wooded ground, mounting two eighteen-pounders. The third was on North Beach, and had seven pieces. Thirty-four mortars were also placed in position.

On Sunday night, June 25th, an attack was made from the fort by a body of three hundred men against Palmer's detachment at Fort Moosa. Owing to various causes, there were insubordination in the command and a want of ordinary discipline and precaution. The English were taken by surprise. Colonel Palmer was killed and twenty prisoners taken. The English say the Spanish force was made up of convicts and negroes. Their commander was killed and one other officer, and fifty of the men. The result was encouraging to the Spanish governor and depressing to the besiegers, as they were suffering from midsummer heat and annoyed by swarms of insect pests. As soon as Oglethorpe had his batteries in position he had formally summoned the Spanish garrison to surrender. Governor Monteano returned his answer, in which he swore by the Holy Cross that he would defend the castle to the last drop of his blood, and hoped soon to "kiss his Excellency's hands within its walls."

The coöperation of the fleet, owing to there not being water enough on the bar for the vessels to enter, and the distance from

A VIEW of the TOWN and CASTLE of ST. AUGUSTINE.
and the ENGLISH CAMP before it June 20. 1740. by THO^S SILVER.



A The English South Trench w. 3 18" & 2 small Mortars
 B A Marsh from whence we played with 20 Colpons
 C Eustatia Island, which is chiefly Sand & Bushes
 D Sailors hawling Cannon in reach of the Castle
 E A North Trench 3 18" & a Mortar of 24 1 10 w^t
 F Gen^l Oglethorpe's Soldiers Indians & Sailors Tents
 G A Lookout taken the 12th of June
 H Soldiers and Sailors landing June the 11th
 I A Sand Battery quited at our approach
 K Cap^t Warren Commander over the Sailors hoisting
 the Union Flag on board a Schooner
 L The Sailors wells to Water the Shipping
 Ships 1 Flamborough, 2 Hector, 3 Squirrel,
 4 Tartar, 5 Phienix,
 Sloops 6 Wolf, 7 Spence
 Employ'd in this Expedition about 200 Seamen
 400 Soldiers and 300 Indians
 Forces of the Spaniards 1000 besides a strong Castle
 and 4 Fortified Barks and a Shallow River hindring
 our Shippings Playing on them.

An Account of the Siege of St. Augustine in a Letter from on Board y^e Hector.
 May 30 we arrived near St. Augustine, June 1st were joined by the
 Flamborough, Cap^t Pearse, the Phoenix, Cap^t Fanshaw, the Tartar,
 Cap^t Townshend, and the Squirrel Cap^t Warren of 20 Guns each, be-
 sides the Spence Sloop Cap^t Law, and the Wolf Cap^t Dardrige.
 On the 2^d Col. Vander Dusen with 300 Carolina Soldiers appear'd
 to the North of the Town. On the 9th Gen^l Oglethorpe came by Sea
 with 300 Soldiers and 300 Indians from Georgia. On the 10th they
 were carried a Shore in the Men of Wars boats under the cover of
 the small Ships Guns. They Landed on the Island Eustatia with-
 out Opposition and took the Lookout at G.
 The 13th Cap^t Warren in a Schooner and other Armed Sloops and
 Pettyaugers anchored in their Harboure just out of Cannon shot till
 the 26th when the Sailors were employed in landing Ordnance and
 other Stores within Reach of the Enemys Cannon. On which Occasion
 they discover'd a surprising Spirit and Intrepidity. The same night two
 Batteries were rais'd, but too far off.
 The 27th the General summon'd the Governour to Surrender, who
 sent word he should be glad to shake hands with him in his Castle.
 This haughty answer was occasion'd by a dear bought Victory, which
 500 Spaniards had obtain'd over 80 Highlanders 50 of whom were
 slain but died like Heroes killing thrice their number.
 The 29th bad weather oblig'd the men of War to put to sea out of w^t
 but one man had been killed. Hereupon the Siege was rais'd.

their anchorage being too great for any effective bombardment, was of little aid, and Oglethorpe was obliged to rely upon his batteries and the hope that Monteano's meager supply of provisions would give out. The shallow bar, allowing less than ten feet, was a chief factor in favor of the Spaniards, as they would have soon been forced to surrender had the English vessels been able to come in. It does not appear clearly why, with a knowledge of this circumstance, Oglethorpe had not provided himself with sufficient vessels of less draught, but it was probably difficult to do so.

It is said on English authority, and is not unlikely, that the majority of the people in St. Augustine were in favor of a surrender on condition that they should be permitted to go to Havana, but the governor and the bishop, who, it is said, had come to a knowledge of the time the English men-of-war intended to stay, would not consent. It was a question of how long the Spanish garrison and people of the town could wait for the supplies they anticipated and greatly needed.

Oglethorpe had guarded the Matanzas entrance at the south end of Anastasia Island, but, to effectually prevent the passage of boats, he should have occupied a point commanding the island passage. So the siege went on, cannon against cannon ; the batteries continued to play upon the town and fort but with indifferent success, owing to the short range of the guns, the want of skill in handling the mortars, but still more to the peculiar nature of the material of which the fort was built, being constructed of stone formed by the natural aggregation and cementing of small shells thoroughly compacted, soft and yielding in appearance, but offering very much the same resistance as cotton or a bank of sand. The shot from Oglethorpe's cannon bedded in the wall to about their own diameter, but made no fracture. These indentations are still visible on the walls of the fort. With such guns as were then used, and at such a long distance, the fort was virtually impregnable to

a bombardment. The English claimed that all the shells fired, except three, broke either in the town or the fort; but Monteano, in a report to the governor of Cuba, says that up to the 6th of July, although one hundred and fifty-three shells had fallen, neither the garrison nor the people had received any injury, which indicates great good luck or bad gunnery. Although the entrance at Matanzas was guarded by one of the English vessels, the better port of Mosquito, forty miles below, was open, and vessels could enter there, place their cargoes on small boats to be carried up the Halifax to the intervening haul-over, and thus reach St. Augustine through the inland passage by Matanzas River. Monteano had learned something of Oglethorpe's condition through deserters. Some Chickasaw Indians brought to Oglethorpe the head of a Spanish Indian as a trophy, but the general, wholly unaccustomed to the barbarities of savage warfare, spurned the offering and called the Indians brutes, which was a righteous but not a politic speech. The Indians were greatly exasperated, and, unaccustomed to the slow and fruitless progress of a siege, soon after deserted.

Oglethorpe had realized the inefficiency of his batteries, but hoped still to reduce the place by starvation, until, on the 27th of June, he was informed by the captain of the vessel which lay off Matanzas bar that he had seen lying at Mosquito bar a large sloop, two schooners, and some launches. Monteano says that on the 7th of July he received intelligence that vessels had arrived at Mosquito bringing him supplies. Allowing for the difference in computation of time, it appears that Monteano and Oglethorpe must have been informed about the same time of the arrival of the vessels, which brought a great relief to Monteano and a great discouragement to Oglethorpe. On the same day the commander of the fleet informed Oglethorpe that, on account of the easterly winds, he would be obliged to ship his anchors and stand off.

Oglethorpe seems then to have contemplated making a night

assault, at least so a deserter informed Monteano, and that it was the intention of the English to attack him during one of the dark nights that were approaching. In the mean time the Spanish supply vessels were safely discharged at Mosquito, and the transshipment by the inland route was begun and carried on safely, until rendered unnecessary by the removal of the English blockading vessel at Matanzas inlet. On the 3d of July Colonel Vanderdussen's scouts on Anastasia Island discovered launches coming up Matanzas River, and he thereupon went with a detachment to the narrows, hoping to cut off the passage of the launches, but was driven off by the armed galleys which now guarded the river.

The next day the question of abandoning the siege was discussed by the English commanders. Colonel Vanderdussen, it is said, opposed the withdrawing, but Oglethorpe felt that the means at his command were wholly inadequate for attaining his purpose. Many of the men were sick, the fleet had withdrawn, and the Spanish were known to have received supplies, so that there was no longer any hope of reducing them by starvation.

It was thereupon decided to raise the siege and abandon the enterprise for the present. On the 7th of July most of the guns from the batteries were placed on board the ships, which went out on the 9th. Three six-pounders were buried in the sand at Point Cartel, and one eighteen-pounder at the battery nearest the fort. The troops marched on the 10th, "with banners flying and drums beating," but were unable to provoke an attack from Monteano, he thinking, doubtless, "that prudence was the better part of valor." The loss at Fort Moosa was the only serious one sustained by the English. The Carolina regiment lost, besides eight men by sickness, four by accident and two by desertion by the enemy.

The failure of the expedition created great dissatisfaction in Carolina, and, as usual, recriminations were indulged in; disputes arose between the Carolina and Georgia partisans, each

endeavoring to throw the entire responsibility of failure upon the other. A court-martial exonerated General Oglethorpe.

Monteano was informed by deserters that it was the purpose of Oglethorpe to return in the following winter with a larger force, and he accordingly labored with great diligence to strengthen his position and urge upon the governor of Cuba the necessity of sending him reinforcements. The fort had sustained no material injury in the bombardment, but more troops were needed, for, according to Monteano's statement, he had only a nominal force of seven hundred and fifty men, and of these only three hundred could be relied upon for active duty. He asked for three hundred and ninety-four more to enable him to resist the expected attack of Oglethorpe. These three hundred to be "men-at-arms, mulattoes, and free negroes," to be sent immediately, and the regulars and the artillery not later than the ensuing December.

Eight companies of infantry were sent to Monteano, and the following spring, finding that the expected attack from the English did not take place, the Spanish governor advised that South Carolina and Georgia should be attacked. A destructive fire had occurred in Charleston, consuming three hundred of the best buildings, and the province being greatly depressed by heavy indebtedness, on account of the Florida expedition, Monteano thought the time a favorable one to make an invasion with a good promise of success. Monteano's suggestion does not appear to have received immediate attention, and the year 1741 passed without active operation on either side.

CHAPTER XXIV

Governor Monteano's attack upon Oglethorpe at St. Simon's Island—The signal victory achieved by Oglethorpe over the Spaniards.

A.D. 1742

IN the spring of 1742 an expedition was organized in Havana to operate against the English settlements in Georgia. It consisted of some two thousand men from Havana, to be joined at St. Augustine by a portion of the garrison at that place. Some delay occurred at St. Augustine in getting ready to join the troops from Havana.

In the mean time Oglethorpe had become apprised of the movement, and sent a message to the governor of Carolina, asking aid from that quarter. He also communicated with friendly tribes and secured their assistance. No effort was spared to strengthen his position and to use to the best advantage his limited means of defense. He constructed a fort and battery at the entrance of St. Simon's Sound, and to some extent fortified the town of Frederica, but the aid from Carolina failed to arrive, and he was left to meet the attack as best he could. The Spanish fleet appeared off St. Simon's bar on the 5th of July. It consisted of thirty-six sail, with Governor Monteano in command. Oglethorpe had mounted guns on a merchant ship and two schooners in the harbor, and kept up a steady fire from these vessels, from the fort, and from a battery he had constructed on shore. After four hours' engagement Monteano passed the fort and batteries and sailed up the river. Oglethorpe then decided to destroy his guns in the battery at Fort St. Simon's and retreat to Frederica, which was about eight miles distant, on the banks of the south branch of the

Altamaha. The Spaniards moved up to a point about four miles below Frederica, landed some five thousand men, and marched to the abandoned fort and made an entrenched camp. Among the troops landed was a regiment of artillery, a regiment of dismounted dragoons, a regiment of negroes, and another of mulattoes, besides the Havana battalion and the St. Augustine forces. A detachment marched on the following day towards Frederica, and approached within a mile of that place before their presence was known. Oglethorpe, with a portion of his force, hastened to meet them, and charged them with such effect that nearly all of the party, consisting of one hundred and sixty, were either killed or wounded or taken prisoners. The pursuit was continued several miles to a savanna bordered by woods, in which he placed three platoons and a company of Highlanders in a position to command the passage through which the Spanish forces would be obliged to pass. Oglethorpe returned to Frederica, but the Spanish force, having immediately advanced upon his troops and driven part of them in retreat, were returning to their camp, and, having stacked arms, were taking a rest, when they were suddenly attacked from ambush and entirely routed, and but few escaped to their camp. A few days afterwards the Spanish galleys attempted an attack on Frederica by water, but were repulsed and forced to return to the fleet. Oglethorpe learned that in the action at the marsh Monteano lost four captains and over two hundred men, and that a number had also been killed in passing the batteries.

The English general determined to avail himself of the evident discouragement prevailing in the Spanish camp, and by a night attack still further demoralize them. He accordingly marched his forces at night to the neighborhood of the Spanish camp, but the desertion of a Frenchman, who fired off his piece and in the confusion fled to the enemy, disconcerted his plans and caused him to abandon the attack.

This apparently unfortunate incident was, however, turned to good account by the ready genius of Oglethorpe. Calling in one of his Spanish prisoners, he gave him a sum of money and promised him his liberty if he would carry a letter to the French deserter, which he promised he would faithfully do. This letter was written in French, and purported to be written by a friend of the Frenchman, desiring him to persuade the Spanish that the English forces were weak and could be easily overcome, and he was then to induce the Spaniards, if possible, to allow him to pilot them up a safe passage to the English fort, but he was to bring them directly upon concealed batteries, and, if he was not able to do that, to use all of his influence to keep them at least three days more in camp at St. Simon's, as within that time, according to advices just received, the English would be reinforced by two thousand infantry and six men-of-war, which had already sailed from Charleston ; and, by way of postscript, he was cautioned against mentioning that Admiral Vernon was about to make a descent upon St. Augustine. When the Spaniard arrived in camp he was asked how he escaped and whether he had any letters, but denying that he had any, he was strictly searched and the letter found on him. Under promise of pardon, he confessed that he had received money to deliver it to the Frenchman, for the letter was not directed to the Frenchman, but he denied knowing the writer or any of its contents, and protested that he was not a spy. As he had been employed by Monteano as a spy among the English, upon trial he was condemned as doubly a spy. Some, however, regarded it as a device intended to deceive ; but just then three sail of vessels being descried, they concluded that the letter must be true, and hastened to get away as soon as possible so as not to be hemmed in. They hastily embarked, abandoning cannon and military stores, even leaving unburied some of the men who had just died of their wounds. Some of their galleys took the inland passage and attacked Fort William, on the south end of Cum-

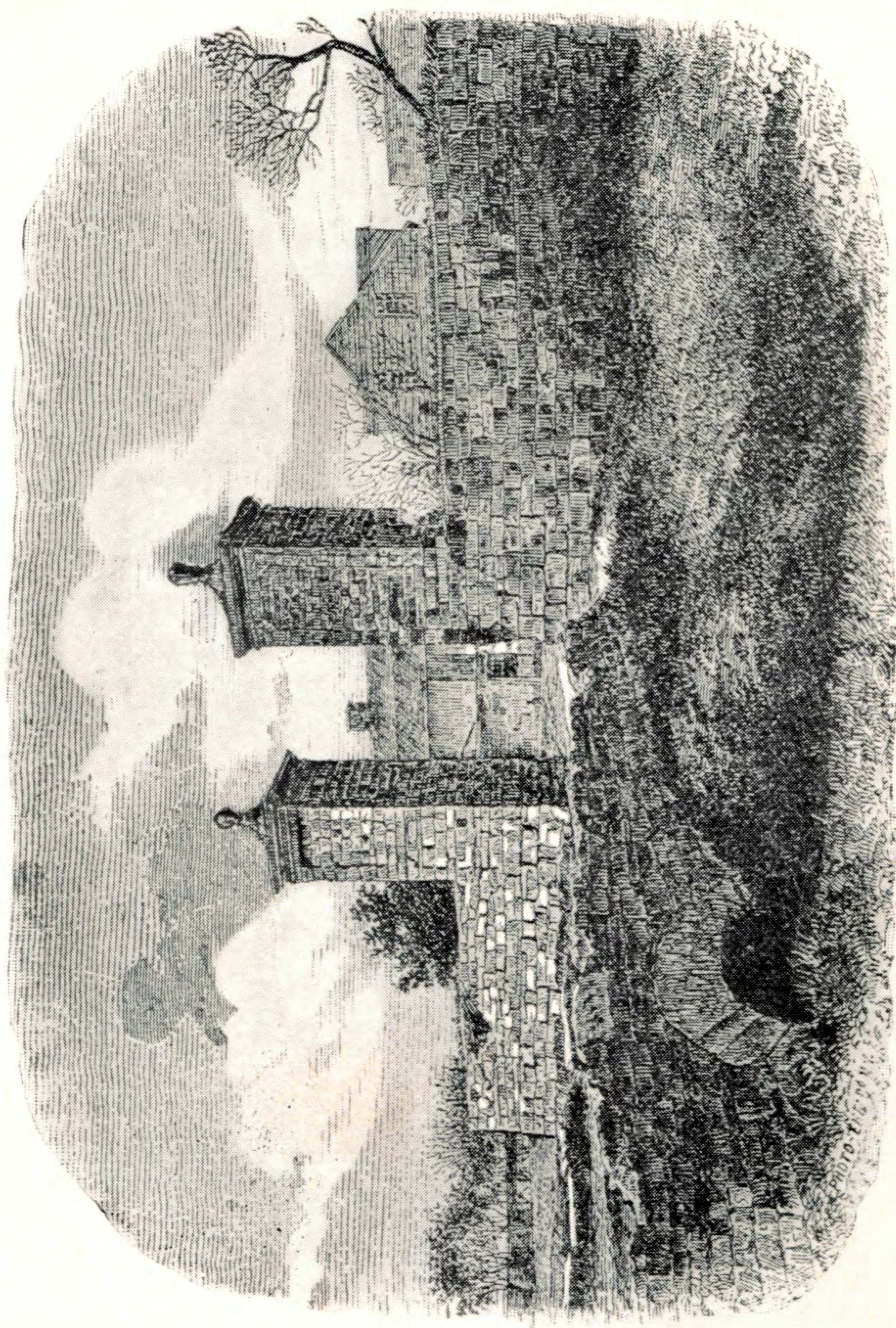
berland Island, which was held by Lieut. John Stuart, well known afterwards as superintendent of Indian affairs. After three hours' bombardment the Spanish forces retired from the attack.

The Spanish forces engaged in this expedition amounted to over five thousand men. Most of them were regulars, aided by a well-equipped fleet. Oglethorpe, with only three armed merchant vessels and six hundred men, defeated and forced the retreat of eight times his own number—an achievement hardly paralleled in history, and which deservedly crowned Oglethorpe with everlasting fame and restored the prestige he had lost by the failure of his attack on St. Augustine.

The news of his success filled all the English colonies with rejoicing and a sense of security.

In March of the following year Oglethorpe made a sudden descent upon Florida, advancing up to the gates of St. Augustine, near which the Indians, who were in advance, attacked and slew forty Spanish soldiers. The Spanish garrison remained within the walls of the fort, and Oglethorpe retired. No further hostilities occurred, and Oglethorpe's success protected his colony for many years from any further demonstrations against it. The garrison at St. Augustine was reduced to a mere defensive force, and in 1759 only five hundred men were on duty there. A treaty was concluded between Great Britain and Spain in 1748, which caused a suspension of hostilities between the colonies.

The progress of French settlements in the West began to create uneasiness, as a conflict of interests seemed likely to spring up between the rival trading houses of the three nations. Upon the renewal of hostilities between Spain and Great Britain in 1762, Havana was captured by the English, which at once cut off St. Augustine from its home government and sources of supply. England had long desired to acquire Florida, in order to complete her colonial boundaries, and the cap-



CITY GATES, ST. AUGUSTINE

ture of Havana seemed to offer a favorable opportunity for the acquisition of Florida by arranging for an exchange of Havana for Florida and the Bahamas. This was effected in the arrangement of the treaty between England, Spain, and France in February, 1763. By this treaty the provinces of East and West Florida were ceded to Great Britain and Havana restored to Spain.

CHAPTER XXV

The English occupation of Florida—Dr. Turnbull's colony of Greeks and Minorcans at New Smyrna—Governor Grant's administration.

A.D. 1763-1770

THE change of flags was excessively disagreeable to the Spanish population of Florida. Apart from the feeling engendered by long-continued hostilities between themselves and the neighboring English colonies, there was the rancor of religious antipathies and traditional animosities, more bitter between Spaniards and Englishmen than any other people. The nineteenth article of the treaty between Spain and England provided that Great Britain should grant to the inhabitants of the countries ceded "the liberty of the Catholic religion, and that his Britannic Majesty will, in consequence, give the most exact and effectual orders that his new Roman Catholic subjects may profess the worship of their religion according to the rites of the Roman Catholic Church so far as the laws of Great Britain permit."

It was also agreed that they might leave the country if they desired, a privilege of which the larger number availed themselves rather than to pass under the flag of Great Britain. On the 7th of October, 1763, the king of Great Britain erected within the countries ceded by the treaty four separate governments, called East Florida, West Florida, Quebec, and Grenada. The government of East Florida was declared to be bounded west by the Gulf of Mexico and the Appalachicola River, to the northward by a line drawn from that part of said river where

the Chattahoochee and Flint Rivers meet to the source of the St. Mary's River, and thence with the course of that river to the Atlantic Ocean, and eastward and southward by the Gulf of Florida, including all islands within six leagues of the shore.

West Florida was bounded southward by the Gulf of Mexico from the Appalachicola to Lake Ponchartrain, westward by the same lake, Lake Maurepas, and the Mississippi River, to the northward by a line drawn from that part of the Mississippi which lies in 31 degrees north latitude to the river Appalachicola, and eastward by this river. It will thus be seen that Florida in 1763 embraced all the coast of Alabama and Mississippi and a part of the coast of Louisiana. The letters patent constituting the new governments authorized their governors, with the advice and consent of their respective councils, to summon general assemblies, with power to make laws for the public peace, welfare, and good government, as nearly as might be agreeable to the laws of England, and, under certain restrictions, to establish courts of judicature. This was the first admission of representative government within the limits of Florida, and indicates the source of the unexampled success which attended all the efforts of Great Britain in the work of colonization. The narrow and restrictive regulations with which other powers endeavored to control their colonial dependencies and which were aggravated by the distance from the seat of power, gave no share of the government to the colonists themselves, and had a tendency to repress all enterprise and subdue all public spirit. Colonies are usually increased in numbers by the favorable representations of their first settlers, and their opinions will be influenced favorably or otherwise quite as much by the institutions of a country as by its physical advantages.

The Spanish system of colonial administration advanced none of the material interests of the country; the inhabitants were never treated as in any degree capable of govern-

ment, but collected around its garrisoned posts as parasites and dependents, contented to live in safety under its protection and satisfied with salaries and petty employments. With the view of encouraging the speedy settlement of the newly acquired territories, the English governors were empowered and directed to grant lands without fee or charge to such reduced officers as had served during the late war and to such private soldiers as had been or should be disbanded in America and were actually residing there, and who should personally apply for such grants, subject, at the expiration of ten years, to the same quit-rents as other lands in the provinces in which they were granted, as also to the same conditions of cultivation and improvements. These grants were to be proportioned to the rank of the applicants. A field officer was to receive five thousand acres, a captain three thousand acres, a subaltern or staff officer two thousand, every non-commissioned officer two hundred, and every private soldier fifty acres. At the time of the cession of Florida to England the Spanish flag had floated over the city of St. Augustine for one hundred and ninety years. Within that period the French had made settlements from the Gulf of St. Lawrence westward along the great lakes, on the Ohio, and on the Mississippi from the Falls of St. Anthony to the Gulf of Mexico. The English had occupied the whole Atlantic seaboard with their colonies, which now comprised a population of nearly three millions. At the end of nearly two hundred years from her first occupation of Florida, Spain occupied but little more territory than at the beginning, and the entire population of Florida in 1763 hardly exceeded seven thousand Spanish inhabitants, gathered principally within the towns of St. Augustine and Pensacola. The people were mostly dependent upon civic and military employment from the government, exhibiting but little industry or enterprise. The change of government of course involved the loss of official employment, and this portion of the inhabitants withdrew at

once to Mexico and the West Indies. The oppressive conduct of Major Ogilvie, who was in temporary command over the provinces immediately after the cession, is said to have had much influence in causing the removal of the Spanish inhabitants, which was so complete that not more than five persons remained, and, had it not been for the efforts of the commanding officer, the retiring inhabitants would have destroyed every house and building in St. Augustine. The Spanish governor destroyed his fine garden, and the inhabitants, before they left, not only assumed to sell their houses in town, but the whole country to a few gentlemen who remained there for that purpose. Gen. James Grant was appointed the first English governor of East Florida in 1763, and proceeded at once to adopt most salutary measures to promote the settlement of the province and the development of its resources. In a proclamation issued October, 1767, he especially refers to the great salubrity of the country and the extreme age which its inhabitants had attained. He referred also to the advantages which the climate offered for the production of indigo and the fruits and tropical productions of the West Indies.

Under the impetus given by government aid, attention was drawn to Florida, and immigration in every way encouraged. Public roads were laid out, and so well constructed that they remain to this day the best in the State, and are still called the "king's roads." Bounties were offered upon indigo, naval stores, etc., in order to stimulate their production. Pamphlets and books descriptive of the country were issued in England, and letters recounting its many advantages appeared in the newspaper publications of the day, and two or more works on Florida, with engraved illustrations, were issued from the press.

Commodore George Johnston, of the British navy, who was appointed governor of West Florida, came to Pensacola in 1764 and published a description of the colony with the view

of attracting settlers. Considerable immigration took place, both of white settlers and negro slaves.

The road from Fort Barrington, on the Altamaha River, to St. Augustine, now called the King's Road, was constructed in 1765 by the subscription of several public-spirited gentlemen, among whom were Governor Grant, Lieutenant-Governor Moultrie, and Messrs. Forbes, Fish, Izard, Pinkney, Gerard, Walton, Manigault, Oswald, Huger, Henry, Laurens, Elliot, Murray, and others, names indicating that many distinguished families of South Carolina bearing these names once belonged to Florida.

A considerable emigration, consisting of about forty families, went from the Bermudas in 1766 to Mosquito, with the purpose of engaging in ship-building. The fine trunks of live-oak in that neighborhood had attracted the attention of the British government, and was considered one of the most valuable fruits of the acquisition of Florida.

An association was formed in London, at the head of which was Dr. Andrew Turnbull, a Scotch gentleman, having in view the settlement of the large and very valuable body of land lying near Mosquito inlet. They proposed to accomplish this purpose by obtaining settlers from the south of Europe and the Mediterranean islands, Minorca, etc., who, placed in a similar climate, might successfully transplant and cultivate the productions of their own countries in the rich lands of Florida.

Sir William Duncan and Dr. Turnbull, at an expense of one hundred and sixty-six thousand dollars, brought from Smyrna, the Greek islands, Italy, and Minorca, about fifteen hundred people under indentures, and formed a settlement at Mosquito, which they named New Smyrna. Their indentures required the settlers, in consideration of the sum paid for their passage and support, to labor for the proprietors a certain number of years, at the end of which they were to be entitled to receive allotments of land in proportion to the number in their families.

The location of the settlement was well chosen, in a very mild climate, situated upon a river abounding in fish, turtle, and oysters ; the forest abounding in deer, wild turkeys, and other game ; large bodies of land, rich and productive when drained, bordered by a dry and salubrious seashore and pine forests. Much labor was expended in buildings, opening canals, excavated in part in solid rock; ditches, and various other improvements, the remains of which still exist. The operations of the colony were carried on with much system, and, it is said, with success. Indigo and sugar-cane were the principal articles cultivated, but vines, fig trees, and also other fruit trees were planted.

The arrival of the English at Pensacola with a large number of troops to garrison the place gave a considerable impulse to the growth of the town, and, being now made the capital of the colonial government of the province of West Florida, added to its importance. Extensive barracks were constructed, the city laid out in a formal manner, and the military quarters extended. The expenditures of the British government in supporting the colony during the last three years of English occupation amounted to the large sum of four hundred and five thousand pounds.

Governor Johnston resigned the position of governor of West Florida in 1766, and was succeeded by Montacute Brown, the lieutenant-governor, who was superseded in 1772 by Gov. Peter Chester, who built a new fort, called Fort George, on Gage Hill, which was quite an extensive work, and included within its precincts the council chamber of the province and the public offices. Governor Grant continued to fill the office of governor of East Florida until 1771, and by his wise and judicious administration of public affairs acquired the respect and affection of the people as well as the confidence of the home government. During this period the colony received a large accession of inhabitants of the best class from South Carolina, among whom

was Major Moultrie, afterwards lieutenant-governor of the province, and William Drayton, Esq., who became chief-justice.

Several English noblemen, among whom were Lords Granville, Hillsborough, Egmont, and Hawk, received large grants of land upon the condition of settlement and cultivation. Several gentlemen of fortune also received grants upon the same conditions, among the most prominent of whom were Richard Oswald and Dennis Rolle. Mr. Oswald established a plantation on the Halifax, still designated as Mount Oswald, and Mr. Rolle at Rollestown, above Palatka. There were also settlements made at Beresford and at Spring Garden. The cultivation of sugar-cane was begun on the Halifax, and under the fostering care of the British government would in a few years have become a very important industry in Florida.

In 1773 Governor Chester concluded to call a legislative assembly in West Florida, and issued writs for the election of members to that body. The writs fixed the term of assemblymen at three years. The people generally objected to a longer term than one year, and cast ballots so conditioned. This the governor refused to recognize, so, as neither party would yield, no assembly was convened. The American Revolution drove many loyalists to seek safety in Florida. The larger part went to East Florida, but many went to Pensacola. Among these was William Panton, Esq., the head of the great trading house of Panton, Leslie & Co., which added very largely to the business and prosperity of Pensacola.

The colony established by Dr. Turnbull at New Smyrna in 1767 remained until 1776. Having put the land in proper condition for cultivation, they began the cultivation of indigo, which then bore a high price in the London market. The net value of their first crop reached the sum of three thousand dollars; but difficulties soon arose between the agents of the proprietors and the colonists, the latter alleging that the proprietors had not complied with their contracts, and that they

were restricted in the quantity of provisions allowed them, and otherwise treated with great tyranny and injustice. In 1769 a revolt had taken place among them in consequence of the infliction of severe punishments upon some of their number. The insurrection was put down, and the leaders brought to St. Augustine for trial. Five of the number were convicted and sentenced to death, two of whom were pardoned by the governor, and a third released upon the condition of his becoming the executioner of the remaining two. He at first declined to become the executioner of his friends, but the condemned men generously urged him to accept the condition. The New Smyrna colony at its establishment numbered fourteen hundred persons, but in nine years had become reduced by death to about six hundred. In the year 1776 two of their number came to St. Augustine and placed before Mr. Yonge, the attorney-general, a statement of their wrongs and grievances. Proceedings were instituted in the civil tribunals of St. Augustine which resulted in a decree requiring the indentures to be canceled and the colonists released from their engagements to the proprietors. Liberal offers were made to induce them to remain at New Smyrna as freeholders, continuing the cultivation of their lands, but the colonists had suffered so much from sickness and trouble that they were unwilling to stay longer. The entire number removed to St. Augustine, where they received allotments in the northern part of the city, which is occupied by their descendants at the present day. Of the character of Dr. Turnbull we have but little knowledge, except the prejudicial inferences to be derived from this transaction. He was a Scotchman, and was undoubtedly strict and exacting in business transactions. The colony which he established at New Smyrna must have been an almost total loss, as it was abandoned before it could have reached the point when it would have proved remunerative. The location, although highly favorable, and reoccupied in part before the Indian

war of 1835, has never since been occupied to any great extent in plantations, but at some future day will no doubt be the center of a large, highly cultivated, and wealthy community.

Governor Grant retired from office in 1771, and was succeeded by Lieutenant-Governor Moultrie, who occupied the position until 1774, when Patrick Tonyn came out to assume the government of East Florida. Upon his arrival he issued a proclamation to the royalists of Georgia, South Carolina, etc., inviting them to remove to Florida, and promising them the protection and patronage of the government. A considerable number availed themselves of his invitation, and settled upon plantations in the neighborhood of St. Augustine and on the St. John's River.

The transfer of Florida to Great Britain was too recent and was too great and favorable a change from its former condition to allow the growth of the feeling of disaffection which pervaded the other North American colonies. There were some in Florida, however, who were in sympathy with the American colonies.

CHAPTER XXVI

Florida during the Revolutionary War—Burning of Hancock and Adams in effigy upon the public square in St. Augustine—Leading citizens of South Carolina sent to St. Augustine as prisoners of war—The Spaniards capture Pensacola from the English.

A.D. 1776-1781

UPON the news being received at St. Augustine of the adoption by Congress of the Declaration of Independence the effigies of John Hancock and John Adams were burned upon the public square where the monument to the Constitution now stands. A British vessel called the *Betsey*, commanded by Captain Lofthouse, and having on board one hundred and eleven barrels of powder, was captured off St. Augustine bar in August, 1775, by a privateer from South Carolina, in plain view of the garrison. This capture was very mortifying to the English governor, and, in order to avenge the insult, he immediately ordered a predatory expedition to march against the frontier settlements of Georgia, under the command of Colonel Brown, who afterwards became prominent as a partisan leader. Privateers were also fitted out, and a fort erected at the mouth of the St. Mary's River for their protection and that of their prizes.

East Florida, with the inauguration of active hostilities between Great Britain and her colonies, began to assume more importance as a rendezvous and base of operations. The governor called out the militia in the summer of 1776 to join the royal troops in resisting what he called "the perfidious insinuations" of the neighboring colonies, and repelling their future

incursions into the province, and to prevent any more infatuated men from joining their "traitorous neighbors." It would appear from this that some persons from Florida had joined the Americans. President Gwinnett, of Georgia, issued a proclamation offering protection to the persons and property of those who would join the American standard in opposition to tyranny.

In addition to the rangers, who were considered as regularly enrolled, there was a volunteer militia organized and officered under their own choice. Many loyalists now began to arrive from Georgia and Carolina, who increased the effective strength of the province as well as introduced an element of additional bitterness towards the rebel colonies. An invasion of Florida was now contemplated by the patriots in Georgia, and forces for that purpose were directed to assemble in Burke County, but the movement was not carried into effect. The province was at the same time threatened by the Indian tribes friendly to the American cause. An expedition against Georgia was placed under the command of Colonel Fuser, of the Sixtieth Regiment, who, with a force of five hundred infantry and several pieces of artillery, made an attack on Sunbury, in Georgia, but failed and retired to Florida. During the year 1778 nearly seven thousand loyalists from Carolina and Georgia moved into Florida. Governor Houston, of Georgia, in conjunction with General Howe, projected an attack upon St. Augustine in the spring of 1778, but, owing to sickness among the people, disagreements of commanders, and deficiency of supplies, the expedition was not undertaken. To meet the expected attack a force under command of Colonel Fuser marched from St. Augustine to the St. John's, but proceeded no farther, contenting themselves with erecting a fortification at St. John's Bluff. Further alarm was created by the sudden death of Captain Skinner, deputy superintendent of Indian affairs, an active and energetic officer, exercising great influence among the Indian tribes.

Reinforcements having been received at St. Augustine, Major Provost, who had been promoted to the rank of general, leaving the militia to guard the province, advanced in December, 1778, to join in the attack to be made upon Savannah by forces from New York. The attack upon the fort at Sunbury and upon Savannah by the force under General Provost proved successful, and this officer's gallant defense of Savannah in 1779, against the combined attack of the forces of D'Estaing and Lincoln, added very greatly to his reputation.

After Charleston had fallen into the hands of the British forces the general in command at that place, in order to remove from Carolina those whom he supposed to have been the principal promoters of the revolutionary cause, in August, 1780, selected some forty gentlemen of high standing to be transferred to St. Augustine, and, at a later period, twenty-three more were added to their number, including a few from North Carolina. These gentlemen were taken early in the morning from their beds and placed on the transports in violation of the parole which had been given them. Upon their arrival at St. Augustine, upon giving new paroles, they were allowed the freedom of the city. General Gadsden refused to accept a parole, and bore a close confinement in the fort for forty-two weeks. They were subjected to many annoyances, cut off from all intelligence of their friends, and were told by high authority that the blood of the brave but unfortunate André would be required at their hands. They remained at St. Augustine for nearly a twelvemonth, until 1780, when they were sent to Philadelphia to be exchanged. An order was issued in 1780 by Sir Guy Carleton directing the entire evacuation of the province of East Florida, but, remonstrances having been forwarded, the order was countermanded.

The letters patent of the king in 1763 had provided for colonial assemblies in both East and West Florida, but it was not until 1780 that Governor Tonyn called a general assembly

in East Florida, which assembled in December, 1780. The assembly seems to have confined itself to the enactment of a few laws of local importance and the organization of the militia. The condition of the province at this period was very prosperous, its agricultural productions were increasing, its commerce was very considerable, and it is hardly to be doubted that, had Florida remained a British colony, it would have equaled any of the seaboard States in population. During the year 1770 fifty schooners entered the port of St. Augustine, coastwise, and several square-rigged vessels in the trade to London and Liverpool.

In 1771 five vessels arrived from London, seven from New York, and eleven from Charleston, and there were imported one thousand negroes, of whom one hundred and nineteen came direct from Africa. Forty thousand pounds of indigo and forty thousand barrels of naval stores were exported during the year 1779. A large trade was also carried on in peltries by Panton, Leslie & Co. and other Indian trading houses. The Spanish governor of Louisiana, Don Bernado de Galvez, who had, in 1779, captured the English post at Baton Rouge, in March, 1781, made an investment of Pensacola with a very superior force. The place was strongly fortified and held by a garrison of one thousand men, under the command of General Campbell. The English occupied a strong fort, called Fort George, which was bravely defended for a long time against the superior force of Galvez. The Spaniards were unable to make any impression until, by an unlucky accident, a shell entered the magazine of Fort George at the moment that it was opened to take out ammunition. The explosion carried away the principal redoubt, and forced General Campbell to capitulate upon honorable terms. The garrison was carried to Havana and thence to New York to strengthen the British forces there.

The condition of affairs rendered it out of the question at

that time to attempt the recapture of Pensacola or any of the other places captured by the Spanish forces in that quarter, and all the military posts remained in the possession of Spain until they were formally receded to her shortly afterwards. The mortification which the British government experienced in the loss of West Florida, Pensacola, Mobile, and Baton Rouge was in part compensated by the capture of the Bahama Islands by two armed brigs, under the command of Colonel Devereux, and which were fitted out at St. Augustine. At the close of the American Revolution the English government having acknowledged the independence of the colonies, assumed that the provinces of East and West Florida had become of little value to the crown, as all the others had passed from under the British flag, and it was proposed to make a recession of these provinces, and also of Minorca, for the comparatively insignificant Bahama Islands. Almost the first intelligence the Florida people received of the coming disaster was the promulgation of the treaty on the 3d of September ceding East and West Florida to Spain. The unfortunate inhabitants of Florida were placed in a most miserable predicament. Many of them had left the adjoining colonies in consequence of their adherence to the royal cause, and could not return. Their property consisted largely of lands and slaves, and they had no place of refuge except the unwelcome rocks and barren islets of the Bahamas.

In June, 1784, Governor Zespedez, the new Spanish governor, arrived at St. Augustine with a few troops to take possession of Florida for the king of Spain. The English government had sent to the mouth of the St. Mary's a fleet of transports to remove the inhabitants of East Florida. Some returned to England, some went to Nova Scotia, and others to the Bahamas. A large number carried their slaves to Jamaica. Afterwards some who had gone to Florida from the adjacent colonies returned to their old homes, trusting to the generosity of the

people to obliterate past differences. Thirteen hundred and seventy-two negroes were carried back to South Carolina. Some few English families remained, as also the entire settlement of Greeks and Minorcans who had come up from Dr. Turnbull's colony at New Smyrna. As they were mostly Roman Catholics, they were not affected in any degree by the change of rulers except by the declension of the colony under Spanish rule.

CHAPTER XXVII

Reoccupation of the Floridas by Spain—Transfer to France of all West Florida beyond the Perdido—Cession of Louisiana—Patriot invasion of Florida with the United States troops in 1812–1813—General Newman's invasion of Alachua and defeat—General Clinch's destruction of the negro fort—General Jackson's capture of Pensacola and war upon the Seminoles.

A.D. 1783–1817

UPON the reoccupation of Florida by the Spaniards in 1784 but few of its former inhabitants returned. They had become settled in other lands, and made new homes and occupations. The fine estates upon the coast and on the St. John's River left by the retiring English proprietors remained unoccupied, a prey to that rapid decay which so soon reclaims to native wildness the labor of years.

Some inducements were held out in the shape of land grants to induce settlers, but were accompanied with conditions which rendered them undesirable. Eventually the land grants became the reward of civil or military service. In 1795 Spain receded to France all that portion of West Florida lying west of the Perdido River, thus cutting off from West Florida the most valuable and important portion of her territory. The progress of the great campaigns in Europe in which Spain was so deeply interested left the Floridas with but little care from the home government. White, who was for many years the governor of Florida, had strong prejudices against the Americans and opposed their settlement in the province. In the mean time France, in the year 1803, agreed to cede the territory of Loui-

siana to the United States for the pecuniary consideration of fifteen millions of dollars. Thus, at the end of two hundred and thirty years, France withdrew from the last of her possessions in North America. One by one she had parted with them all, and sold for a few millions of dollars an empire in extent. Upon the cession of Louisiana, the United States enclosed the Spanish possession within narrow limits. In the year 1811 difficulties between the United States and Great Britain began to assume a threatening aspect. On the north the Canadian provinces extended along the entire border, offering every advantage for assailing the people on the frontiers. It was suspected that a design was on foot to seize Florida, and thus secure to Great Britain a frontier along the whole southern border. The matter was thought to be of sufficient importance by the President to have it brought before Congress, and, in secret session, a resolution was passed authorizing the President, in the event of an attempt being made by any foreign power (Great Britain) to get possession of Florida, to occupy that territory by the American forces. The President appointed General Matthews, of Georgia, and Col. John McKee commissioners to confer with the Spanish authorities and endeavor to procure a temporary cession of the province to the United States. The Spanish government declined to do this ; but a number of people who anticipated the forcible seizure of Florida by the United States assembled at St. Mary's, Ga., and organized themselves as Patriots, seeking to establish a republican government in Florida. A provisional government was formed and officers elected. Gen. J. H. McIntosh was chosen governor and director of Florida, and Colonel Ashley was appointed military chief. This was, however, never more than a paper government for a few hours. Fernandina had at this time acquired considerable importance as a depot of neutral trade. The depth of water on the bar was greater than at any other port, and as many as one hundred and fifty square-rigged vessels,

it is said, could have been counted at one time in the harbor ; but its population did not exceed six hundred persons. In 1812 a small Spanish garrison held possession of the place. It was deemed important to the United States to secure possession of Fernandina, and nine American gun-boats, under the command of Commodore Campbell, had come into the harbor under the pretence of protecting American interests. General Matthews having determined upon the occupation of Fernandina, used the Patriot organization as a cover to effect his purpose. The gun-boats were drawn up in line in front of the town, with their guns bearing upon the fort. Colonel Ashley then embarked his Patriots in boats and approached the town with a summons demanding its surrender. The commandant, Don José Lopez, seeing a line of gun-boats with their guns turned upon the town, flying the flag of a neutral power, but prepared to enforce the demand of the *soi-disant* Patriots, had no alternative but to haul down the Spanish flag. Articles of capitulation were duly signed between Don José Lopez and J. H. McIntosh, commissioners of the Patriots. The fifth article of capitulation provided that the island should, twenty-four hours after the surrender, be ceded to the United States. The next day the Patriot flag was hauled down, and Lieutenant Ridgeley, of the United States navy, took possession and raised the United States flag over the fort. This comedy having been played, Colonel Ashley, with a force of three hundred Patriots, marched near to St. Augustine and encamped. Colonel Smith, of the United States army, with a detachment of one hundred regulars, here joined the Patriots. Colonel Ashley was deposed from his command, and William Craig, one of the Patriot judges, put in his place. Colonel Estrada, then acting governor of East Florida, put some guns on a schooner and shelled the camp at Moosa, compelling the Patriot forces to fall back to Pass Navarro, where they entrenched themselves, but, finding their force insufficient to take St. Augustine, the Patriot forces fell

back to the St. John's River, leaving Colonel Smith's command at Pass Navarro.

On the 12th of May a detachment of United States troops, mostly invalids, under the command of Lieutenant Williams, United States Marine Corps, with a number of wagons from Colonel Smith's camp, were attacked by a company of negroes sent out from St. Augustine, under command of one Prince, who, concealing themselves in Twelve Mile Swamp, poured in from a dense thicket a deadly volley upon the United States troops. Lieutenant Williams fell, mortally wounded by six bullets. Captain Fort, of the Milledgeville Volunteers, was wounded and a non-commissioned officer and six privates were killed. The soldiers instantly charged upon the negroes, who broke and fled.

The Spanish minister at Washington remonstrated with the American government against this violation of treaty obligations, and the British minister protested against this invasion of neutral territory. The President was much embarrassed, but pursued the usual course of those in power, ignored the acts of General Matthews, declared that he had transcended his instructions, and regretted the mistake.

General Matthews was relieved, and Governor Mitchell, of Georgia, was appointed in his place. Upon receiving intelligence of the attack upon Lieutenant Williams's detachment of United States troops, Governor Mitchell promptly called for reinforcements to enable him to attack St. Augustine. In the mean time Governor Kindelan had been sent out to Florida as governor, and in June made a formal demand for the withdrawal of Colonel Smith's command from the province. The President, finding Congress unwilling to enter into hostilities with Spain, ordered the withdrawal of the United States troops.

The Indians in the interior, under their chiefs Payne and Bowlegs, had begun a predatory warfare upon the settlements,

carrying off live stock, burning houses, and stealing negroes, and were preparing to extend their incursions into Georgia. Colonel Newnan, inspector-general of Georgia, who had come as a volunteer, offered to lead a party against Payne's town in Alachua. Organizing a command from the Patriots in Florida of one hundred and ten men, he undertook to penetrate to the Indian towns and attack two formidable chiefs surrounded by their warriors.

Crossing the St. John's at Picolata, Newnan arrived on the third day at the foot of Lake Pithlachocco, now called Newnan's Lake, a few miles distant from Payne's town, near Micanopy. They here encountered about one hundred and fifty warriors under Payne and Bowlegs. King Payne, mounted on a white horse, displayed great gallantry in leading his men into action. Newnan's men feigned a retreat and drew the Indians out in pursuit, when, suddenly turning on them, they killed a large number and mortally wounded King Payne. The Indians fled, but returned at night and renewed the attack upon Newnan's forces, who had in the meanwhile entrenched themselves. The engagement lasted for several hours, but the steady valor of the whites forced the Indians finally to retreat, carrying off their dead and wounded. Newnan, however, was kept besieged for eight days, until, under cover of night, he was able to withdraw his men and retreated towards the St. John's. The Indians followed in pursuit, but were repulsed, and Newnan's force, met by a relieving force, reached Picolata in safety. A state of anarchy prevailed, and the Patriots retaliated, plundering and destroying nearly all the outlying plantations, for which the United States was eventually held responsible to a large amount. The American troops were not finally withdrawn until 1813. Governor Mitchell had been superseded as commissioner by General Pinckney. The civil war which had been carried on under the sanction of the United States troops had prevailed for eighteen months, and had

broken up and disheartened the planters, who saw the fruits of their industry made the prey of lawless invaders, their homes rendered insecure, their stock carried off, their slaves scattered, their crops and fences destroyed, and all they possessed pillaged and plundered under the immunity and protection afforded by the flag of the United States. The planters retired to St. Augustine and sought shelter under the protection of the guns of the fort. Florida was in the condition of a conquered province for nearly two years. The war of 1812 between the United States and Great Britain to some extent involved Florida. In August, 1814, a British fleet entered the harbor of Pensacola and landed troops, which were placed in garrison in Forts St. Michel and Barrancas with the assent of Governor Manriquez. The British flag was raised over the forts, and the Indians of the region taken under the British protection and incited to carry on hostilities against the United States, being furnished with arms and ammunition and promised liberal bounties. General Jackson was directed by the United States government to counteract these movements, and, having raised a body of troops, mainly in Tennessee, marched against Pensacola. A flag which he sent forward to open communication with the Spanish governor was fired upon, and he immediately determined to storm the town. Marching his troops to the eastward of the city, he pushed forward his column for a direct assault. The town was protected by Fort St. Michel, several batteries, and by some vessels of war in the harbor. The advance of General Jackson was rapid, and his troops soon entered the streets of the city. A Spanish battery of two guns, which had been placed so as to sweep the street with grape and canister, was stormed and captured by Major Laval. The town soon yielded, and Fort St. Michel was abandoned by the British troops. The fort at Barrancas was blown up by Colonel Nichols, the English commander, who, with the garrison and Indian allies, went out to sea and erected a new fort on the

Appalachicola River. After holding the town two days, General Jackson withdrew his forces and proceeded to New Orleans.

Colonel Nichols, having been driven out of Pensacola, devoted his attention to organizing a negro and Indian rendezvous on the Appalachicola River, as a place of refuge for runaway negroes, who, in connection with the Indians, might operate against the American settlements.

Selecting a suitable location, he superintended the building of a strong fortification upon a high bluff, well protected by a deep morass in the rear. A garrison of three hundred British troops was placed in the fort, and it was made a central rendezvous for the Creeks and Bluestick tribes. During the following year a large number of runaway negroes congregated and settled in the region along the banks of the Appalachicola for some fifty miles, bidding defiance to both Spanish and Americans. After the close of the war with Great Britain the British garrison was withdrawn, and the fort was left in the hands of the runaway negroes. It was armed with nine guns, and the negroes were well supplied with small-arms and ammunition. Thus situated, it commanded the navigation of the Appalachicola and Flint Rivers. Col. Duncan L. Clinch was stationed at Camp Crawford, on the Appalachicola River, some distance above the negro fort.

The negroes having attacked and killed a midshipman and four men belonging to a naval vessel down the river, Colonel Clinch, with the regulars and two considerable bodies of friendly Indians, determined to attack and destroy the fort. Bringing up two gun-boats from below, he established a battery opposite the fort and invested it in the rear. A shot from one of the gun-boats soon entered the magazine and blew up the fort, destroying nearly the whole of the garrison and the people who were within the fort. A large amount of property was captured, and one hundred and sixty barrels of powder were saved from an uninjured magazine. The negro commander and the

outlawed Choctaw chief were condemned to death by a council of the friendly Indians for the murder of the midshipman and seamen, and were immediately executed.

The runaway Spanish negroes were turned over to the Spanish authorities, and the American negroes delivered to Colonel Clinch, to be restored to their owners. A body of Seminoles had started to assist the negro fort, but turned back when they learned of its capture.

Instigated by the English emissaries, Nichols and Woodbine, the Seminoles, with scattered bands from other tribes, continued to annoy the frontier settlements. In January, 1818, General Jackson made a treaty with the Creeks, and engaged them to join him in an attack upon the Seminoles of Florida. With a force of five hundred regulars and one thousand militia and nearly two thousand Indians, he started upon his expedition, and, marching rapidly upon the Miccosukee towns, he destroyed them, and also the Fowl towns, meeting with but little resistance. He then marched upon Fort St. Mark's, which was strongly fortified and had twenty guns mounted upon its ramparts. The fort surrendered without resistance, and Prophet Francis and another Indian chief were made prisoners and immediately hanged. At Miccosukee General Jackson found three hundred scalps of men, women, and children, most of them freshly taken.

From St. Mark's General Jackson marched to the Suwanee River, near Old Town, where he dispersed a large number of Indians and took many prisoners, among them two Englishmen, Arbuthnot and Ambrister, who were accused of being the chief agents in supplying the Indians with arms and ammunition and directing their operations against the whites. They were condemned by a court-martial, one to be shot and the other hanged, and the sentence was promptly executed. Learning that the Spanish governor at Pensacola was furnishing arms to the hostile Indians, General Jackson marched against that

place, which at once capitulated, the governor and most of the troops having retired to the fort at Barrancas. This was invested, and, after a few hours' cannonade, was surrendered. General Jackson established a provisional government for West Florida, making Colonel King civil and military governor, and Captain Gadsden collector of the port. This provisional government lasted about fourteen months, Pensacola being restored to the Spanish authorities in September, 1819. A treaty of peace was negotiated between Spain and the United States in February, 1819, ceding the Floridas to the United States. A party of adventurers, called Venezuelan Patriots, took possession of Fernandina in 1818 and held high carnival there for several months until driven out.

The treaty for the cession of Florida, in consideration of the payment of five million dollars, was ratified on the 19th of February, 1821. The change of flags took place at St. Augustine the 16th of July, 1821, and at Pensacola on July the 21st, 1821.

CHAPTER XXVIII

Florida becomes a Territory of the United States—Civil organization—Condition of the Indians—Treaty of Fort Moultrie—Treaty of Payne's Landing—Collision between the races—Story of Dade's massacre, and beginning of the Florida Seminole war.

A.D. 1821-1836

UPON the change of flags, the civil administration of affairs in Florida devolved upon the military authorities until the passage of an act of Congress on March the 3d, 1822, establishing a territorial government which was to be administered by a governor to be appointed by the President, and who was authorized to appoint all local officers ; a legislative council of thirteen to be appointed annually by the President, and two superior courts.

General Jackson was the military governor until William P. Duval, of Kentucky, was appointed governor. The first legislative council was held at Pensacola in June, 1822 ; and West Florida was divided into two counties, Escambia and Jackson, and East Florida into the two counties of St. John's and Duval. Gen. Joseph M. Hernandez was chosen as the first delegate in Congress from Florida, and was succeeded by Col. Joseph M. White, who was in Congress many years. He was succeeded by Charles Downing, who was a delegate until 1841, when David Levy (Yulee) was elected, and remained until the admission of the State to the Union. The second session was held at St. Augustine in June, 1823. W. H. Simmons and J. L. Williams were appointed commissioners to select the location for the seat of government, which they chose near the old fields of the Tal-lahassees, in the center of the Fowl towns. Their choice was

approved, and the town surveyed in 1824. The capitol building was begun in 1824, but was not completed for many years. The first house was erected in Tallahassee in 1824. The settlement of the country would have progressed rapidly but for the occupation of nearly the whole of the interior by the Indians. The Indians had remained for so long a time in undisputed possession of the country, that they had never realized that any authority could be exercised but their own. The Miccosukees were regarded as the original occupants of the country, and the Seminoles were, as their name indicated, runaways from the Creeks living along the Appalachicola River. A considerable number of them had come into Florida in 1750, under their chief, Secoffee, who left two sons, head chiefs, Payne and Bowlegs. The government appointed Col. Gad Humphreys as Indian agent, who established his agency at Fort King.

The settlers demanded that the Indians should be restricted to narrower limits. A council was held by Colonel Humphreys with the chiefs at Fort Moultrie in 1823, and a treaty negotiated by which the Indians agreed to remove below a line about twenty miles south of Micanopy. The settlers were still not satisfied, and urged their entire removal to the west of the Mississippi. At a talk with the chiefs it was proposed that a deputation should go and examine a location in the West. Colonel Humphreys having been removed in 1830, Major John Phagan was appointed agent. The chiefs were assembled at Payne's Landing, and a treaty made by which certain chiefs, accompanied by the agent, were to go to Arkansas to select a location, and, if satisfied, were to remove there, and fifteen thousand four hundred dollars was to be paid them, with an annuity of three thousand per annum for ten years, and they were all to remove in 1834 and 1835. The chiefs went to Arkansas and made the examination, and expressed themselves satisfied with the location, but there were many of the younger Indians unwilling to go. A feeling of dissatisfaction was dis-

seminated, and some of those who had signed the treaty in deference to popular clamor, disowned their acts. The treaty and an additional treaty were ratified by the United States Senate, and a proclamation was issued by President Jackson on April 12, 1834. Governor Duval was succeeded in 1834 by John W. Eaton, who held the office only one year, when Richard K. Call was appointed in 1835, and remained in office until 1839, when Robert Raymond Reid was appointed, and, upon his death in 1841, Richard K. Call was again appointed, and held the office until 1844, when he was succeeded by Gov. John Branch, ex-Secretary of the Navy.

Measures were at once taken to effect the removal of the Indians. Gen. Wiley Thompson was appointed to succeed Major Phagan as Indian agent, and Gen. Duncan L. Clinch was placed in command of the United States forces in Florida. The chiefs now appeared to be generally opposed to emigration. Charley Emathla, alone of all the chiefs, took decided ground in favor of going. General Thompson reported in October, 1834, to the Secretary of War that the Indians were buying powder in considerable quantities, and he was satisfied that they were being tampered with by designing and unprincipled whites. It soon became evident that the Indians had determined not to emigrate. Ten companies of troops were placed at the disposal of General Clinch, and he was directed to explain to the Indians the determination of the government to insist upon their removal. On the 6th of April, 1835, a council was held at the Indian agency between Colonel Clinch, General Thompson, and a large number of influential chiefs. The chiefs had previously agreed among themselves to refuse to emigrate. General Clinch told them of his instructions to use force to make them go. Eight of the chiefs came forward and agreed to emigrate, but five refused. The time was extended until the 1st of January, 1836. They continued to purchase powder until the agent refused to allow them to purchase any more. Osceola, after-



OSCEOLA

wards so conspicuous a character, became indignant, and carried his disrespect to General Thompson so far that he was arrested and confined in irons for several days, until he professed to be penitent, and, on the solicitation of other chiefs, he was released and expressed a willingness to emigrate. In October Major Llewellyn Williams discovered a party of Indians near Kanapaha Pond butchering a beef. As the Indians were a long distance out of their boundary, the whites disarmed them and flogged some of them. Two Indian hunters coming up, fired on Williams's party, and in the skirmish which ensued two Indians were killed and one of the whites mortally wounded. About the same time the express rider from Tampa to Fort King was killed by the Indians. Charley Emathla had begun his preparations for emigrating, and had gathered his cattle for appraisement and sale, when he was met by Osceola with a band of Miccosukees, shot down and killed. General Clinch asked for additional troops, and fourteen companies were directed to report to him from various posts. The whole number of Indians in Florida, including women and children and negroes living with them, was estimated not to exceed two thousand, of whom perhaps five hundred were warriors—a serious underestimate, as it afterwards turned out, and which led to most inadequate preparations for their subjugation.

Osceola was cunning and vindictive, and laid his plans to avenge himself upon General Thompson. Gathering a band of twenty of his followers, they concealed themselves near Fort King, awaiting their opportunity. On the afternoon of the 28th of December, 1835, General Thompson walked out after dinner in company with Lieut. Constantine Smith. The day being pleasant, they strolled as far as the military sutlers, some distance from the fort, when, unsuspecting of danger, at a given signal they were fired upon by the whole number of Indians in ambush. General Thompson and the lieutenant fell, pierced by many balls. Proceeding to the sutler's store, they killed the

inmates, scalped them, and set fire to the building. There were only forty-six men in the fort, who, supposing the Indian force to be a large one, deemed it imprudent to attack them. Osceola having glutted his revenge upon General Thompson and Mr. Rogers, the sutler, immediately left. Major Francis L. Dade, of the Fourth Infantry, had been ordered from Key West to Fort Brooke, at Tampa, and arrived there on December 21st with Company A of his regiment, numbering thirty-nine men. To this force was joined Captain Gardiner's Company C, Third Artillery, and Company B, Third Artillery, fifty men in each. This force was directed to proceed to Fort King to strengthen that post. The distance was almost one hundred and thirty miles, and the route lay through the Indian country. No one connected with the expedition being acquainted with the route, Major Dade secured the services of a negro slave named Lewis, belonging to a sutler of the name of Antonio Pacheco, but who had formerly belonged to the Fatio family on the St. John's River.

This guide, it is said, informed the Indians of the date of departure and the route, with the view of affording them a favorable opportunity for attack. The place of rendezvous of the Indians was the big Wahoo Swamp. The troops under Major Dade's command began their march from Tampa on the 24th of December. The officers, besides Major Dade, were Captain Gardiner, Second Lieut. W. E. Basinger, Second Lieut. R. Henderson, Second Artillery ; Capt. U. S. Fraser, Second Lieut. R. R. Mudge, Second Lieut. J. L. Reais, Third Artillery ; Asst. Surg. J. S. Gatlin, and one hundred privates. They carried with them one six-pounder field-piece and one light wagon with ten days' rations. On reaching the Hillsboro River, they were detained some time in consequence of the bridge having been burned by the Indians. On the 27th they reached the Withlacoochee and encamped. On the morning of the 28th they continued their march through an open pine country, in

apparent security and totally unsuspecting of danger. Their road was skirted, however, by low palmetto bushes, which afforded a covert for the Indians, who were concealed on the west side of the road, near a pond. The troops were marching along in open order and extended for a considerable distance. The Indians, concealed in the palmettoes and behind trees, were to await the signal of attack to be given by Micanopy, when each should select his object. They were most of them within a distance of thirty or forty yards of the road, and their fire could hardly fail to be destructive. Nearly half the command fell at the first discharge from the Indian rifles, which, proceeding from an unseen foe, gave no opportunity for avoiding or returning it. Those who escaped the first discharge took shelter behind trees, and Lieutenant Basinger poured in five or six rounds of canister from his six-pounder, which checked them for a time, and they retreated over a small ridge. Captain Fraser and Major Dade fell among the first. Lieutenant Mudge was mortally wounded, and Lieutenant Reais had both arms broken ; they were bound up, and he reclined against some logs until he was killed later on. Lieutenant Henderson had his left arm broken, but continued to load and fire his piece until later on in the second attack, when he too was killed. Captain Gardiner, Lieutenant Basinger, and Dr. Gatlin were the only officers who escaped uninjured by the first volley. On the retreat of the Indians Captain Gardiner commenced the erection of a triangular breastwork of pine trees. In about three-quarters of an hour the Indians renewed the attack and commenced a cross-fire on the breastworks with deadly execution. Lieutenant Basinger continued to fire the six-pounder until all the men who served the piece were shot down. Captain Gardiner at length fell. Dr. Gatlin, with two double-barreled guns, continued to load and fire until killed late in the action, and Lieutenant Basinger was wounded. About two o'clock the last man fell, and the Indians then rushed into the breastwork,

headed by a heavily painted savage, who, believing that all were dead, made a speech to the Indians. They then stripped off the accouterments of the soldiers and took their arms. Soon after the Indians had left, about fifty mounted negroes came up and at once commenced a horrible butchery. If any poor fellow showed signs of life, the negroes stabbed and tomahawked him. Lieutenant Basinger, being still alive, started up and begged the wretches to spare his life. Mocking his prayers, they mangled him with their hatchets until he was relieved by death. After stripping the dead, they shot the oxen and burned the gun carriage. The number of Indians engaged was, according to the report of Alligator, one hundred and eighty warriors. Osceola and his party did not return in time to participate in the slaughter. Shortly after the negroes left, a soldier named Wilson crawled out, and, discovering that Rawson Clark was alive, proposed that they should try to get back to Tampa. As Wilson stepped over the breastwork an Indian shot him dead. Clark again lay down, and at night, with De Coney, another wounded man, started for Tampa. The next day they met an Indian, who pursued Coney and shot him, while Clark concealed himself in a scrub and escaped to Tampa. A soldier named Thomas bribed an Indian and was allowed to escape. Lewis, the guide, has since claimed that he was faithful, and was captured by the Indians and went to Arkansas with them eventually.

This massacre astounded the country. No such instance had ever occurred—a body of disciplined troops, in the open day with a field-piece and with abundant ammunition, being totally exterminated by a body of half-naked savages. Upon learning of the killing of Charley Emathla, General Clinch had called for volunteers. By the 15th of December several volunteer companies from Nassau and Duval Counties, with five hundred men from middle Florida, under General Call, had joined General Clinch at Fort Drane. Colonel Fanning, with three companies

of artillery from Fort King, also had joined him. General Clinch advanced to the Withlacoochee, where the Indians awaited him in force. Having crossed over only two hundred and twenty of his men, he was attacked with great impetuosity by about two hundred and fifty Indians, who were fresh from the massacre of Dade's command. The Indians were well protected, but, being charged the third time by the troops, were routed and fled. Four soldiers were killed in the engagement and forty wounded. The settlements in the interior were all broken up, and the settlers fled to the protection of the towns and the military posts. Sixteen plantations, each employing from one to two hundred slaves, were abandoned between New Smyrna and Matanzas. On the 17th of January, 1836, Major Putnam went to Tomoka in command of two companies of volunteers. They camped at Dunlawton, and were attacked by a superior force of Indians under King Philip, and were compelled to retreat. Two of Major Putnam's force were killed and seventeen wounded. The public mind was aroused, and General Clinch was authorized to call for and accept troops from the adjoining States. Gen. E. P. Gaines was in command at New Orleans, and, upon receiving intelligence of the Dade massacre, embarked with a force of eleven hundred men, comprising six companies of the Fourth Infantry and a Louisiana regiment under Col. Persifer Smith. They reached Tampa on the 10th, and three days afterwards marched to Fort King, carrying only ten days' rations. When he arrived at Fort King he found only one company of troops and no surplus provisions. General Clinch was at Fort Drane, equally unprovided with provisions. General Gaines decided to return to Tampa, and took a more westerly route. The Indians disputed his crossing the Withlacoochee, and in the engagement Lieutenant Izard was killed. General Gaines sent an express to ask General Clinch, at Fort Drane, to come to his relief, which he was unable to do, having been relieved of his command by General Scott

and having no provisions. General Gaines prepared rafts to cross the river, when he was attacked by the Indians from all sides, and three officers and thirty of his men were killed. In response to a second call for aid, General Clinch gathered some cattle, and, taking stores from his own plantation, went to General Gaines's relief. On his arrival General Gaines turned over the command to General Clinch, who withdrew the force to Fort Drane.

CHAPTER XXIX

Continuation of the Indian war under Generals Scott, Jesup, and Taylor
—Battle of Withlacoochee—Okeechobee—General Macomb's failure
—Killing of Dr. Perrine on Indian Key.

A.D. 1836-1840

GENERAL WINFIELD SCOTT now assumed command in Florida, and planned a campaign on paper which he felt satisfied would close the war in three months. His plan was to form three wings, which would move simultaneously from Volusia, on the St. John's River; Fort Drane, near Orange Lake, about the center of the peninsula, and Tampa, thus inclosing the whole Indian force supposed to be about the forks of the Withlacoochee. General Scott's combinations were good only on paper. The campaign was a failure. The wings had marched and countermarched between Fort Drane and Tampa, but, with the exception of a few skirmishes, nothing was accomplished, and when summer came the regulars went into summer quarters and the volunteers went home. Colonel Clinch, disgusted with the state of affairs, resigned and retired to his plantation near St. Mary's, Ga.

About the middle of March Major McLemore had been ordered to the Suwanee River, to procure corn for the troops. He procured the corn and erected a small blockhouse about fifteen miles from the mouth of the Withlacoochee, and left Captain Halliman with a small force to defend it. General Scott seems to have forgotten this party, and they were left to themselves. They were repeatedly attacked by the Indians in large numbers, but gallantly held the fort during the siege. Captain Halliman

was shot, and the roof of the blockhouse burned off. They finally succeeded in sending down the river three men in a canoe, who reported their situation, and a force was sent to relieve them. They had subsisted on corn alone for twenty-eight days. The Indians scattered in small bands and overran the country, killing mail carriers and express riders, and murdering families. In July they attacked the post of Micanopy with a force of upward of two hundred warriors, but were repulsed by Major Heileman, who died shortly afterwards from the effects of over-exertion. In August a sharp skirmish occurred at Fort Drane between a force of one hundred and ten men under Major Pierce and three hundred Indians led by Arpeika. On May 1st Judge Randall's plantation, east of Tallahassee, was attacked, and the negroes carried off, and on the 8th of May hostile Indians appeared near St. Mark's. Fort King was abandoned about the last of May; Fort Drane was abandoned in July, proving very unhealthy. A wagon train carrying stores from that post was attacked by Indians near Micanopy, and was only saved by prompt reinforcements. All the settlements east of the St. John's and south of Picolata had been destroyed, and all south of Black Creek and Newnansville had been broken up. In July the Indians attacked the plantations of Colonel Hallowes and others on the east bank of the St. John's, north of Six Mile Creek, and burned the buildings, as they did also the Travers plantation, at the mouth of Black Creek. In September the Johns family, seventeen miles west of Jacksonville, was attacked. Mr. Johns was killed, Mrs. Johns shot and scalped, and the house burned. Mrs. Johns, however, eventually escaped and recovered. A little later a large force of Indians approached Newnansville. Colonel Warren went out to meet them with a force of one hundred and fifty men and a howitzer. After two hours' fighting the Indians retreated.

The command of the forces in Florida now devolved upon

Gen. R. K. Call, of Florida. General Armstrong, with a command of twelve hundred Tennessee volunteers, who had been operating in the Creek country, was ordered to report for duty to General Call. With these troops, one hundred and forty Florida militia, and one hundred and sixty regulars, General Call began in October an offensive movement against the Indians, but, being prevented by high water from crossing the Withlacoochee, fell back upon Fort Drane for supplies. In November, reinforced by some regulars and a regiment of Creek volunteers, General Call crossed the Withlacoochee and broke up an Indian encampment.

On the 18th five hundred Tennesseans attacked a considerable body of Indians strongly posted in a hammock. After two hours' hard fighting the Indians fled, leaving twenty-five dead on the field. On the 20th Lieutenant-Colonel Pierce joined General Call with a detachment of regulars. The Indians being reported in large numbers in Wahoo Swamp, an attack was made on them, and the engagement lasted several hours ; but it was impracticable to dislodge them, and General Call again fell back to Fort Drane for supplies. In October General Jesup reached Tampa, and in the latter part of November joined General Call at Volusia with four hundred men, relieving General Call of the command.

The result of the year's campaign was well calculated to encourage the Indians. They had driven not only the citizens but nearly all the troops out of the peninsula, and held their ground in all quarters. Gen. Thomas Jesup, upon his assignment to command in Florida, proposed to act vigorously and continuously. Eight thousand troops were placed at his disposal. The official reports had hitherto based the want of successful pursuit on the want of supplies. General Jesup moved with mounted troops, both officers and men carrying their provisions in haversacks. The stronghold of the Indians was in the neighborhood of the Withlacoochee, which they had hitherto

successfully held. Colonel Foster moved up to the west side of the Withlacoochee, from Tampa. General Jesup penetrated the country between the forks of the river and the Wahoo Swamp, whereupon the Indians abandoned their fastnesses and moved in the direction of the Everglades, avoiding any encounter with the troops. A strong post was established on the Withlacoochee, called Fort Dade, as a depot and post of observation. General Jesup organized several detachments for the pursuit of the Indians. Colonel Canfield attacked Osarchee near Ahapopka Lake, killing the chief and his son, but the main body escaped. Numerous herds of cattle were found, and a body of Indians was encountered on Hatchee-Lustee Creek and dispersed, their baggage and a number of their women and children being captured. Several hundred head of the Indians' cattle were taken on the borders of the Tohopekaliga Lake. Abraham had a conference with General Jesup, and returned to the nation to advise negotiations. On the 3d of February, 1837, Abraham returned with Jumper, Alligator, and Hapatophe. They expressed a desire to treat for peace, and agreed to meet General Jesup at Fort Dade with other chiefs on the 6th of March, and that in the mean time all hostilities should cease. With this understanding General Jesup ceased pursuit and returned to Fort Dade.

A military post had been established at Fort Mellon, on the west side of Lake Monroe, in December, 1836, by Colonel Fanning. The post was occupied by two companies of artillery, four companies of dragoons, and some Creek Indians. The Indian spies had reported the force at the post to be small. King Philip and his son, Coacoochee, made an attack upon the post with four hundred Seminoles on the 8th of February, 1837. The Indians fought with great steadiness for three hours, unaware that the post had just been reinforced. Captain Mellon was killed; Lieutenant McLaughlin and fourteen others were wounded. The Indian loss was twenty-five.

The Indians had, since the arrival of General Jesup, encountered several defeats, and were being driven from their fields and homes by a superior force. The season for planting was passing, and they had no assurance of being able to obtain provisions from any quarter during the coming season. From convictions of necessity on the part of some and policy on the part of others, it was agreed that they would comply with their agreement to meet Colonel Jesup. On the 6th of March they assembled in large numbers at Fort Dade and agreed to cease hostilities, withdraw south of Hillsboro River, and prepare to emigrate to the West. General Jesup agreed to protect them and their negro allies, and that their cattle and ponies should be paid for. A rendezvous was appointed near Tampa. In May a considerable number had come in, and the transports were ready to receive them. On the 20th of June Coacoochee, with two hundred Miccosukees, came to the camp and induced the seven hundred who had gathered there to leave en masse for the Everglades. The war had been supposed to be at an end. Arrangements had been made for the withdrawing of the troops, and the settlers were preparing to return to their homes. Among the reasons assigned for the withdrawing of the Indians was the fear of sickness, measles prevailing in the camp, but a still more probable cause was the fear on the part of the Indian negroes, who were all runaways, that they would not be allowed to go to Arkansas with the Indians, but would be restored to their masters.

When it was known that the Indians had fled from Tampa great consternation prevailed. The planters abandoned the crops they had planted and sought safety at the military posts. In June the Indians killed Captain Walton, the keeper of the lightship on Carysfort reef, and one of his men. About the same time they killed Captain Gilliland, near Ichatuckny Springs. General Jesup immediately called for volunteers from the adjoining States and Tennessee. He had, during the previous

winter and spring, driven the Indians south of Lake Monroe and Tampa Bay, killed thirty negroes and Indians, and captured five hundred prisoners.

In September, 1837, General Hernandez made prisoners of Coacoochee, King Philip, and two camps of Indians and negroes, about two hundred in number, who came in a friendly manner at Pellicier Creek. On the 1st of December, 1837, General Jesup had under his command about nine thousand men. The principal Indian force was on the upper St. John's, with some roving bands through the peninsula. Gen. P. F. Smith was placed on the Gulf coast south of Tampa, Gen. Zachary Taylor at Tampa, with orders to establish posts east of that point. He moved out from Tampa on the 14th of December with a force of eleven hundred men, and proceeded to the neighborhood of Okeechobee, where he found a large Indian force occupying a dense hammock, protected in front by a miry, saw-grass pond. Under these great disadvantages of position, the troops charged the enemy with great gallantry, and, after a hard-fought battle, routed them, but with heavy loss. Colonel Gentry, of the Missouri Volunteers; Lieutenant-Colonel Thompson, Captain VanSwearingen, Lieutenants Brooke and Center, and twenty-two privates were killed; nine officers and one hundred and two men were wounded. The Indians numbered about four hundred, and lost eleven killed and nine wounded. The troops fell back after this engagement to Tampa. General Hernandez moved down to the head of the St. John's and Indian Rivers, capturing two hundred and ninety-seven prisoners. General Nelson operated along the Suwanee River. Colonel Snodgrass held the country between Black Creek and the Ochlawaha, and destroyed several Indian villages and expelled the Seminoles from that region. Other detachments scoured the country in all directions. An ineffectual attempt was made, through a deputation of Cherokees, to persuade the Indians to surrender and emigrate. The chiefs agreed to fulfil

their treaty, but they failed to come in for that purpose. This failure was attributed to the escape of Coacoochee from Fort Marion, at St. Augustine, where he had been confined for some time with seventeen of his followers. He squeezed himself through a narrow embrasure some twenty-five feet from the ground, and, escaping from the fort, went to the Indians and opposed their surrender and emigration. By establishing posts and depots across the country between Tampa and Lake Monroe, General Eustis was enabled to penetrate the region on the northern margin of the Everglades, and broke up many Indian settlements. General Taylor, in the course of his operation, captured and secured four hundred and eighty-four Indians and negroes. During the summer of 1837 General Eustis and other officers urged that the Indians be allowed to remain within a small territory in the southern part of the peninsula, the question of the time of their removal to be left to future decision. This the Indians seemed willing to agree to, and a considerable number came into camp at Fort Jupiter to await the decision of the President. The Secretary of War having notified General Jesup of the President's disapproval of their remaining, he immediately directed General Twiggs to secure all who were at Jupiter. Five hundred and thirteen Indians and one hundred and sixty-five negroes were secured, who were at once transferred to Tampa Bay. Those captured at Fort Peyton with Osceola had been transferred to Fort Moultrie, in Charleston harbor. Osceola died at Fort Moultrie, and is buried outside of the principal gate, where his grave is inclosed and a monument erected.

Major Lauderdale, Lieutenant-Colonel Bankhead, and Colonel Harney operated in and around the Everglades and broke up many Indian camps. General Jesup was relieved from the command May 15, 1837. Within the year and a half that he was in command nineteen hundred and seventy-eight Indians and negroes surrendered or were captured. The Indian villages

were mostly destroyed, their cattle and horses killed or captured, and they were no longer able to make a stand against the troops. The Indians who had been captured or surrendered were now embarked on transports and removed west of Arkansas. Twelve hundred and twenty-nine went in the first party and three hundred and thirty in the second party. Gen. Zachary Taylor succeeded General Jesup in command, and in October, 1838, removed two hundred and twenty Apaches from West Florida. The winter campaign of 1838--9 was arranged by placing different portions of the field under separate commanders. The winter was spent in hunting out from their hiding places the small Indian bands scattered through the country, but with little success, as the Indians easily eluded pursuit. During the campaign, however, one hundred and ninety-six Indians and negroes were captured or surrendered and were sent West. Small bands of Indians still moved through the country stealthily, attacking settlements unexpectedly, moving by night and committing murder wherever there was an opportunity. General Taylor divided the country into squares, with each a small blockhouse, in order to scout the country thoroughly. In May, 1839, General Macomb came to Florida to make an arrangement with the Seminoles, and a council was assembled. General Macomb agreed that the Indians should temporarily be assigned to the country below Pease Creek and Lake Okeechobee, where they were to remain until further arrangements were made. They were not to pass out of their limits, and no one was to enter their territory. On the 18th of May General Macomb issued a general order declaring that the war was ended. The settlers again prepared to return to their devastated homes, hoping to make a partial crop. The month of June was quiet, but early in July the Indians began hostilities in all parts of the country. Plantations were attacked, and the settlers forced to flee for their lives. Express and post riders were waylaid and shot down. Colonel Harney

had gone to Charlotte Harbor to establish a trading post for the Indians after they should have retired beyond Pease Creek. With a detachment of twenty-five men, the storekeeper and his clerk, he was encamped in the open pine barren on the Calosahatchee, some twenty miles up the river. The Indians had professed to be very friendly, but at daybreak on the 22d of July General Harney's camp was attacked by two hundred and fifty Indians, and he himself only escaped in his night clothes by swimming to a fishing smack. Out of thirty in the camp eighteen were killed. Upon receipt of this intelligence Colonel Hanson seized forty-six Seminoles who had come in for provisions and shipped them to Charleston. There was a body of Spanish Indians in the lower part of the peninsula who had hitherto taken no part in the war, but they now joined the Seminoles and attacked various settlements upon the islands, murdered wrecked seamen and fishermen. One of the saddest and most notable attacks was made at Indian Key upon the family of Dr. Perrine, a botanist of distinction, who was devoting himself to the cultivation of tropical plants. A large crowd of Indians landed on the island on the 7th of May, 1840, plundered and then burned the houses. Mrs. Perrine and her children were saved by concealing themselves in a turtle-crawl under the house. Dr. Perrine was killed in the upper part of the building, fighting for his life. The family reached a boat which the Indians were loading with plunder, and pushed off to a vessel in the harbor. Several others escaped to the same vessel.

CHAPTER XXX

Continuation of the Florida war—General Worth appointed to the command—Vigorous prosecution of the war—Capture of Coacoochee—Surrender of the Indians and close of war.

A.D. 1840-1842

IN the spring of 1840 General Taylor asked to be relieved, and in May of the same year General Armistead was assigned to the command. Fruitless expeditions marched out and returned, failing to find the enemy.

Still the work of surprise and massacre went on by invisible bands, who struck the blow and vanished. The citizens were disheartened, the troops were discouraged, and the Indians lurked undiscovered. An attempt at negotiation was again made. A Seminole delegation was brought back from those who had been sent to the West to influence those in Florida, but nothing definite was accomplished. Occasionally some Indians came in, professed friendship, said they were tired of the war, received subsistence, and then suddenly disappeared.

On the 28th of December a party started from the military post at Micanopy, consisting of Lieutenant Sherwood, Lieutenant Hopson, a sergeant, and ten privates, with Mrs. Montgomery, wife of Major Montgomery, to go to Wacahoote, a post ten miles distant. About four miles from Micanopy they were suddenly fired upon by a large party of Indians, concealed in a hammock which skirted the road on the edge of Ledwith Lake. Two soldiers were killed at the first fire. Lieutenant Sherwood determined to stand his ground, and requested Mrs. Montgomery to dismount and get into the wagon, where she would



BILLY BOWLEGS



DEATH OF WAXEHADJO

be less exposed. As she was dismounting she was fatally shot through the breast. Lieutenant Hopson escaped, and returned to Micanopy for reinforcements. Lieutenant Sherwood and his remaining men continued a gallant hand-to-hand fight until they were overpowered by the greatly superior force of thirty Indians, led by Halleck-Tustenuggee. This tragic event aroused the whole country, and a universal demand was made that the war be brought to a close. Congress appropriated one million of dollars to suppress Indian hostilities, and the War Department recalled all instructions for negotiation and directed the war to be prosecuted without relaxation. There were small bands of Indians in all parts of the territory, from the Ocklocknee and Okefinokee to the Withlacoochee. An attack was made at Fort Russel, west of Palatka, and repulsed by Lieutenant Albertis with a small detachment, killing three and wounding two of the Indians. Waxehadjo, who had been a leader in waylaying express riders, had killed the express rider going from Fort Cross to Tampa, and, after torture, had cut off his head and placed it on the coals of his camp-fire, when a detachment of dragoons under Capt. Lloyd Beall came up and drove him into a pond, where he was killed. Cosa-Tustenuggee, with thirty-two warriors and sixty women and children, soon after surrendered and were sent West. Billy Bowlegs, the Prophet, and Hospetarkee, Shiver and Shakes, occupied the country south of Pease Creek. Colonel Harney, with a detachment of one hundred men, penetrated the hitherto unknown, unexplored country in canoes. Chekika, the Spanish-Indian chief, was overtaken and killed. Six of his companions were captured, and, in memory of the treacherous attack on Harney previously, were hung on the spot, and their bodies left on the trees to terrorize the Indians. Thereupon the Indians asked for a talk, professed submission, drew subsistence and clothing, and pretended to be getting ready to emigrate, but in April disappeared. Major Belknap, stationed at Fort Fanning, on the

Suwanee, secured and sent West in March Echo-E-Mathlar, the Tallahassee chief, with sixty of his band. During the summer the Indians cunningly professed to be anxious for peace, and came in in small bands with plausible stories, and obtained subsistence. The officers hoped to secure their surrender, but this the Indians skillfully avoided. Nothing resulted, the whole year was wasted, and the war still not ended. In January, 1841, Col. W. J. Worth, "the gallant Worth," was appointed to the command of the Tampa district. He immediately sent for Coacoochee, who was in the neighborhood of Kissimmee, to come and have a talk. A few days later Coacoochee visited the camp, arrayed in a gorgeous theatrical costume, obtained from the wardrobe of a company of actors whom he had attacked a few months previously, on the Picolata road, six miles from St. Augustine. Several of them were killed, and their theatrical wardrobe became a valuable booty to the handsome young chief.

At this interview with General Worth he agreed to consult the other chiefs and return in ten days. On the tenth day he returned, regretting that he could not collect his people, but wished to meet General Armistead at Tampa and have a day fixed when he would have his people assembled. On March 22d he met General Armistead at Fort Brooke, when it was agreed that he would bring his people to Fort Pierce, on Indian River. During April and May he came in, professing great anxiety to emigrate, but that his people were so scattered it was difficult to find them. From Coacoochee's demeanor and large requisitions for whisky and provisions, Major Childs, commanding at Fort Pierce, became satisfied that the wily chief was playing a game of deception, and advised his seizure.

A band of Indians on the Ocklocknee River, in middle Florida, kept that section in a constant state of alarm, although nearly a regiment of troops occupied the vicinity, but were never able to get on their track. Another band lurked in and around the great Okefinokee Swamp. Halleck-Tustenuggee



COACOOCHEE

kept in the neighborhood of the Ocklawaha River and the Withlacoochee. He endeavored to obtain provisions, and, being refused, threw off the mask and left in his trail sixty sticks, representing the number of his band, painted with blood. Colonel Davenport, commanding at Sarasota, reported an entire failure in the attempted negotiations, and that the Indians had all left. The close of the season for active operation left matters very little better than at the same period in the previous year. General Armistead, in May, 1841, asked to be relieved of the command in Florida. The result of operations in the previous year was the capture of four hundred Indians, of whom only one hundred and twenty were warriors. A delegation of friendly Indians had been brought from Arkansas to induce them to emigrate, but accomplished nothing.

General Worth was now assigned to the chief command, being the eighth commander sent out to close the war. No more unpromising field for distinction could have been found than Florida at this period. As the number of Indians was reduced, their tactics were changed. A skulking, predatory warfare in small bands was kept up, while their families were left far down in the Everglades. From these fastnesses they could sally forth upon long expeditions for murder and rapine. Acquainted with coverts to which they might fly in all parts of the country, able to support themselves upon the abundant game, they possessed an unlimited power of doing mischief. Where they had been was easily seen from the bodies of their slain victims and the ashes of the destroyed houses, but where they were or where they had gone it was difficult to ascertain. General Worth had a force of five thousand men at his disposal, and at once organized his force in the most effective manner and prepared for an unremitting campaign. "Find the enemy, capture or exterminate," was his simple injunction. In June Major Childs, commanding at Fort Pierce, acting under the orders he had received from General Armistead, secured Coacoochee and his

brother, and a brother of King Philip, with thirteen warriors who came into the post. They were immediately sent off to Arkansas. General Worth sent an officer and intercepted them at New Orleans, and had Coacoochee brought back to Florida. A simultaneous movement had been made for the purpose of breaking up any camps which the Indians might have formed, destroying their crops and stores wherever found. Every field that could be found was destroyed and every camp broken up. These operations were harassing and destructive to the Indians, but at a council held in June they determined not to surrender. The detachments engaged in thus scouting were in the field twenty-five days, numbering about six hundred, and about twenty-five per cent. were sent to the hospitals from the effects of heat and exposure. The inhabitants were invited to return to their homes, protection and subsistence being promised them. General Worth having been informed that Coacoochee had arrived at Tampa, proceeded to that place to have an interview with him. On the morning of the 4th of July the interview was held on board the transport. General Worth and his staff were in full uniform, and Coacoochee and his companions, heavily ironed, came and sat on the deck. After complimenting Coacoochee on his reputation as a warrior, General Worth told him that the war must now end, that he could decide upon how many days would be necessary to see the Indians in their retreats, that he could select three or five of his men to carry his message to his people, and that unless his people complied with his commands he and his warriors seated with him should be hung to the yard-arms of the vessel upon the day appointed, with the irons upon their hands and feet. Coacoochee replied in a very dignified and impressive manner, and asked to be allowed to go himself to see his people. This General Worth would not consent to, but said he could choose his messengers. Coacoochee, after consultation, selected five of his companions to bear his message. Forty days were allowed for his band to

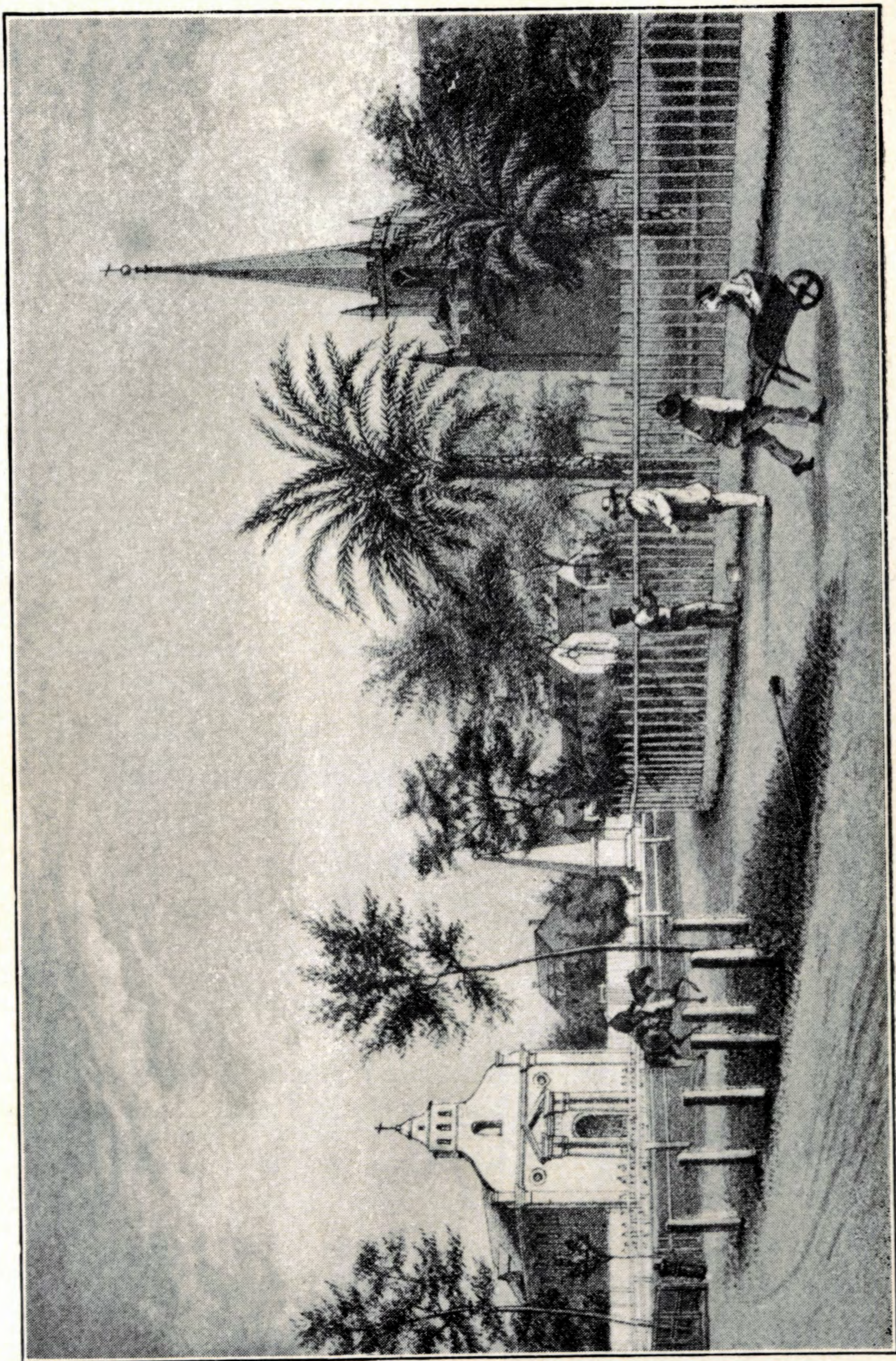
come in. He gave his messengers forty sticks, one for each day, one larger than the rest with blood upon it, and told them when the others were thrown away to say to his people that, with the setting sun, Coacoochee hangs like a dog, with none but white men to hear his last words. The five messengers were relieved of their irons and went upon their embassy. In ten days the Indians began to come in, and on the last of the month all had come. They numbered, in all, two hundred. Coacoochee was greatly relieved ; he put on his finery and told his people the rifle was hid and the white and red men were friends. They were soon after sent to Arkansas. Other bands came in from time to time, but a considerable number remained in and about the Everglades, under Bowlegs, the Prophet, and Arpeika (Sam Jones).

In October a combined land and naval expedition scoured the Everglades. The Indians fled before them, and their huts and fields were destroyed. Major Wade, commanding at Fort Lauderdale, captured fifty-five Indians, destroying twenty canoes and all their fields and huts. Small parties of Indians still lurked in the northern and western part of the territory, and along the Gulf coast, above and below the mouth of the Suwanee. On December 20, 1841, while most of the men in the Mandarin settlement (about twelve miles from Jacksonville) were out on a hunt, a party of seventeen Indians attacked the settlement, killing two men, two women, and a child, but evaded pursuit. Major Belknap secured sixty-seven of Bowlegs's and Sam Jones's men near Lake Istokpoga. On February 5, 1842, two hundred and thirty Indians were shipped to Arkansas, and in April one hundred more. Afterwards seventy of Tustenuggee's tribe were taken.

In February, 1842, General Worth informed the War Department that, so far as he could learn, only about three hundred Indians remained, of whom only one hundred and twelve were warriors, and advised their being left below Pease Creek,

which was assented to by the President in May, 1842, and on the 14th of August General Worth issued a general order announcing that hostilities with Indians in Florida had ceased. Above three hundred settlers were at once located in the interior. The war had lasted nearly eight years, and had cost the United States about twenty millions of dollars. Afterwards a momentary alarm was occasioned by an attack made by a party of only ten Indians on the settlement at San Pedro, in Madison County. Colonel Bailey immediately raised a party and went in pursuit, killing two and wounding five of their number. When the facts were known the excitement subsided. On the 4th and 5th of October, 1842, an unprecedented tidal wave submerged Cedar Key, destroying the government stores, and did injury to other points on the Gulf coast.

Octiarche and Tiger Tail were shortly afterwards captured at Fort Brooke, and Captain Hitchcock captured Pascoffer and his band of fifty-nine men on the Ocklocknee. From 1836 to 1842 never less than three thousand troops were employed, and in 1837 some nine thousand were in the field. Two hundred and fifteen deaths from battle and disease occurred among the officers and twelve hundred and fifteen among the privates during the Florida war.



PLAZA OF ST. AUGUSTINE

CHAPTER XXXI

Recuperation of Florida—The admission of Florida as a State—Organization of a State government—Grants of lands to Florida—Charters to and construction of railroads.

A.D. 1842-1857

THE close of the war did not bring the influx of population into Florida which had been anticipated. At the change of flags in 1821 but a small portion of the Spanish inhabitants left the territory, and, although much effort had been made to draw attention to its agricultural and commercial advantages, the census of 1830 exhibited as the result of ten years' occupation a population of only 34,730. There was a comparatively rapid increase from 1830 to 1836, when the Indian war broke out, as the census of 1840 showed a population of 54,477, notwithstanding four years of war. When peace finally came, the planters had suffered too greatly and were too impoverished to resume work to any extent on their desolated fields. The hardships encountered by the volunteers from other States had not put them in love with Florida, and, moreover, the virgin lands of the West were then thrown open to settlement. A movement towards the admission of Florida into the Union had originated in 1838, and a convention was held at St. Joseph's on the 3d of December of that year for forming a constitution, which concluded its labors on the 11th of January, 1839. The convention was presided over by the Hon. Robert Raymond Reid, and among its members were Walker Anderson, Leigh Read, William Marvin, Thomas Baltzell, E. C. Cabell, George T. Ward, James D. Westcott, David (Levy) Yulee, Leslie A. Thompson, and other gentlemen of distinc-

tion. It was by all odds the ablest body of men ever assembled in Florida. The constitution then formed compares favorably with those of the other States, and is in many respects superior to the emendations since made. It was at that time supposed that the war was about to be closed, but the continuance of hostilities prevented any effort being then made for admission to the Union, and at the close of the war in 1842 some opposition was manifested to assuming the expense of the maintenance of a State government.

In order to promote the settlement of Florida, Congress passed the Armed Occupation Act, donating lands in Florida in certain districts on condition of actual settlement and cultivation for a term of years. This had the intended effect of inducing a considerable number of hardy pioneers, with musket in hand, to locate on choice lands in advance of previous settlements. Gov. Robert Raymond Reid, territorial governor in 1841, was succeeded by Gen. R. K. Call, after whom Hon. John Branch, Secretary of the Navy under President Jackson, was appointed. The question of applying for admission to statehood remained quiescent until 1845. David Levy, better known afterwards as Senator David L. Yulee, was then delegate in Congress for the Territory of Florida. The new Territory of Iowa, west of the Mississippi, desired admission as a State.

It had been the policy of Congress to maintain, as far as possible, an equilibrium of political power in the Senate by admitting new States, Northern and Southern, together. In pursuance of this policy, it was arranged that Florida and Iowa should be admitted at the same time, which was effected by the act of March 3, 1845. A supplemental act of the same date gave to Florida a grant of eight entire sections of land to establish a seat of government, also the sixteenth section in every township, or its equivalent, for the support of public schools; and two entire townships, in addition to the townships already reserved, for the establishing and maintenance of two semi-

naries of learning, one to be located east and one west of the Suwanee River ; and five hundred thousand acres for internal improvements, besides five per cent. of the net proceeds of the sale of public lands within the State, to be devoted to the purposes of education. At the election held under the new constitution in 1845 William D. Mosely was elected governor. A Legislature was elected, which convened at the capitol in Tallahassee on the 23d of June, 1845. At this session James T. Archer was chosen by the Legislature as secretary of State, N. P. Bemis as comptroller, Benjamin Byrd as treasurer, and Joseph Branch as attorney-general. The salary of the governor was fixed at \$1,500 ; secretary of State, \$600 ; comptroller, \$800 ; treasurer, \$800 ; and attorney-general, \$500 ; members of the Legislature, \$3 per day and mileage. David Levy had been elected member of Congress. He subsequently resigned, and was elected to the United States Senate for the long term and James D. Westcott for the short term. In December, 1845, Mr. Levy's name was changed to Yulee, being his ancestral name. Mr. Westcott had been territorial secretary under Governor Duval.

At the presidential election in 1848 electors were chosen on the ticket headed by Gen. Zachary Taylor.

In 1849 an Indian outbreak was made upon settlers on Indian River. It was soon suppressed, however, and but one or two lives were lost.

Thomas Brown, the Whig candidate, became governor in 1850.

By the census of 1850 the population of Florida was shown to have increased to 87,445. This increase was mainly from Virginia, North Carolina, and Georgia, and was largest in middle Florida.

By act of Congress of September 28, 1850, all the swamp and overflowed lands belonging to the United States in Florida were donated to the State for the purpose of being reclaimed. The estimated quantity of such lands was twelve millions of

acres, but a much larger amount has been selected by the locating agents and patented to the State. James E. Broome, Democratic candidate, was chosen governor in 1853. The vote of the State was cast for Franklin Pierce for President. The Alachua grant, which comprised nearly three hundred thousand acres in Alachua County, had been sold for partition in 1849, and population now began to come into the peninsular portion, especially in Columbia, Alachua, and Marion Counties. The lack of transportation facilities impeded the settlement of the interior. Although five hundred thousand acres had been given the State to encourage internal improvements, and over twelve million acres of swamp and overflowed lands, yet, with the exception of twenty miles from Tallahassee to St. Mark's, there was not, in 1855, a railroad in the State. A ship canal had been discussed and a route surveyed, but nothing done.

Encouraged by the grant of lands made by Congress, projects of internal improvements by the construction of railways were set on foot, mainly through the foresight and sagacity of Hon. David Yulee. By an act of the Legislature, approved 8th of January, 1853, the Florida Railroad Company was incorporated for the construction of a railroad across the peninsula of Florida, to commence on some tributary of the Atlantic having a sufficient outlet to admit the passage of sea steamers, to some port on the Gulf of Mexico, south of the Suwanee River. At the same session an act was passed to incorporate the Pensacola and Georgia Railroad to run from Pensacola to the eastern boundary of the State of Georgia. No actual work of construction was undertaken under either of these charters until after the passage of the act of the Legislature of January 6, 1855, entitled "An act to encourage a liberal system of internal improvements." By the provisions of this act the swamp and overflowed lands and the internal improvement lands were to be placed under the control of an internal improvement board, which was authorized to guarantee

the payment of the interest on the bonds which might be issued under its provisions to aid the construction of a line of railway from Fernandina to Tampa Bay, with a branch to Cedar Key.

Shortly afterwards the work began upon the line from Amelia Island to Cedar Key, Fernandina being the initial point. A company was organized to build a railroad from Jacksonville to Lake City, and another to build a road from Tallahassee to Lake City, called the Pensacola and Georgia Railroad. Within the ensuing four years the railroad was completed from Fernandina to Cedar Key, and was graded between Waldo and Ocala, and the road between Jacksonville and Tallahassee was also completed.

The construction of these roads gave considerable impetus to the settlement of Florida. Many planters from South Carolina and Georgia moved into the State, bringing with them large numbers of slaves, and opened up extensive cotton plantations. The counties of Columbia, Alachua, and Marion were found well adapted to the growth of sea-island cotton, which had been hitherto mainly produced upon the sea islands of Georgia and Carolina.

At the presidential election of 1856 the vote of Florida was cast for Mr. Buchanan, Democratic candidate. M. S. Perry, of Alachua County, Democratic candidate, was elected governor.

Senator Yulee was defeated for reëlection to the Senate in 1851 by Stephen R. Mallory. In 1853 he was, however, again elected, to succeed James D. Westcott.

The Indians in the southern part of the State became troublesome in 1857, and a partial outbreak occurred. The governor called out State troops and suppressed the outbreak, at the cost of a few lives.

The progress of settlement had steadily increased, and the census of 1860 showed a handsome increase from 87,475 in 1850 to 140,424, an increase of nearly seventy-five per cent., of which none was by immigration from foreign countries.

CHAPTER XXXII

The secession of Florida—Occupation of the United States forts and arsenal—Seizure of the navy yard at Pensacola—Hostilities at Pensacola—Fernandina, St. Augustine, and Jacksonville taken possession of by Union troops.

A.D. 1857-1861

FLORIDA participated in the general political struggle which prevailed throughout the South during the whole of 1860. In the fall election she had cast her vote in favor of John C. Breckenridge for the presidency. John Milton, of West Florida, was elected governor to succeed Madison S. Perry, whose term expired in 1861. George S. Hawkins was elected to Congress, and a Legislature chosen. The people of Florida shared in the disquietude occasioned by the election to the presidency of Mr. Lincoln, which was considered as a triumph of the Anti-slavery party, fraught with danger to Southern interests and Southern institutions. South Carolina had called a convention with the announced determination to secede from the Union. The Legislature of Florida met in regular session on the 26th day of November, 1860. Governor M. S. Perry, on the same day, addressed a message to the two houses, declaring his opinion that the election of Lincoln and Hamlin, viewed in connection with the circumstances that led to it, made the only hope of the Southern States for domestic peace and safety, future respectability and prosperity, dependent upon their immediate secession from the Union. A letter from Senator Yulee was read announcing that as soon as he should learn of the withdrawal of the State from the Union he would leave his

seat in the Senate. A bill was at once introduced to provide for calling a convention of the people of the State of Florida, to be held on the 3d day of January, 1861. The bill passed both houses unanimously, and the election was ordered for delegates to the convention. The Legislature then adjourned until the 7th of January.

The convention assembled at Tallahassee on the 3d of January, 1861, and elected John J. McGehee president, and W. H. Harris secretary. The convention was opened with prayer by Bishop Rutledge. On the 5th of January, at a consultation of Southern senators held in Washington, their respective States were advised to pass ordinances of secession as soon as possible. Senators Yulee and Mallory communicated this resolution to the Florida convention, then in session. A test resolution in favor of secession was passed by the convention on the 7th of January—sixty-two ayes to five nays. On the 9th a resolution that the ordinance should be submitted for ratification by the people was lost—yeas twenty-six, nays forty-one. On the 10th day of January the ordinance of secession was passed, declaring the State of Florida a sovereign and independent nation, and rescinding all ordinances recognizing the Union. Upon the passage of the ordinance of secession the vote was sixty-two ayes and seven nays. Messrs. Yulee and Mallory formally withdrew from the Senate. George S. Hawkins had previously resigned his seat in the House of Representatives. Judge McQueen McIntosh, judge of the United States Court, and the other Federal officers, except at Key West, resigned. Fort Marion, at St. Augustine; Fort Clinch, at Fernandina, and the United States arsenal at Chattahoochee were taken possession of by the State authorities. South Carolina had seceded on the 20th of December, 1860, and conventions were called in the other States; but it was a very bold step for Florida, weak in population and resources, to be among the first to pass an ordinance of secession with such great unanimity.

It was intended also to seize the navy yard and fort at Pensacola, and an order to that effect had been issued by Governor Perry, but before it could be carried into effect Lieutenant Slemmer, who was in command of a company of United States troops at Barrancas, on the 10th of January removed his garrison to Fort Pickens, on Santa Rosa Island. To a formal demand to surrender he replied that he had determined to hold the fort as long as he was able to do so. On the last of January the Confederate forces at Pensacola navy yard numbered about seventeen hundred. By an agreement with the government, a *statu quo* arrangement was made, and Fort Pickens was not reinforced until April the 14th, when considerable reinforcements were landed from the Brooklyn man-of-war. Previous to that time it could easily have been taken. Troops had also been added to the Confederate forces holding Fort Barrancas and the navy yard, so that by May General Bragg, who took command on March 11th, had about five thousand men. Col. Harvey Brown had succeeded to the command at Fort Pickens. No active operations took place on either side for several months. Batteries were erected and guns mounted, and General Bragg made his camp a school of instruction. Fort Clinch, at Fernandina, was occupied by a regiment of Confederate troops. The forces at Pensacola had now been confronting each other since January.

On the 14th of September a naval boat expedition was fitted out under Lieut. J. H. Russell, of the flagship Colorado, and made a night attack upon the navy yard, burning the small armed schooner Judah and spiking the guns of the only battery there, with a loss of only three killed and eight wounded. This was followed on October 9th by an expedition of Confederate troops, under the command of Gen. R. H. Anderson, against the camp of the Union forces on Santa Rosa Island. The attack was only partially successful, and the losses on either side were about the same.

On November 24th the United States steamers Niagara and Richmond, aided by the guns at Fort Pickens and five shore batteries, commenced a bombardment of the Confederate lines, in order to retaliate for the attack on the Union camps. The bombardment was kept up for two days, and five thousand shot were thrown from the Federal batteries. About one thousand shot were returned from the Confederate batteries. The loss on the Union side was one killed and six wounded ; on the Confederate side, six killed by the falling in of a magazine and twenty-one were wounded ; two churches were burned, also twenty laborers' cottages, and one public building in the navy yard—a very harmless duel, without result except great expenditure of ammunition needlessly. It had, perhaps, the good effect of accustoming the troops to the sound of cannon and to the comparatively harmless character of such a bombardment. On the 1st of January, 1862, General Bragg turned over the command of the troops at Pensacola to General Sam Jones.

The troops then in camp numbered eight thousand, and about the middle of February four regiments were sent to Tennessee. On the 2d of March, 1862, the Confederate troops, under Col. E. Hopkins, were withdrawn from Fernandina. General Dupont left Port Royal on the 28th of February with a large fleet of naval vessels, gun-boats, and transports, carrying a brigade of United States troops for a descent upon the east coast of Florida. The larger vessels sailed to the mouth of the St. Mary's River, and the gun-boats, etc., came in at St. Andrew's Sound and followed the inland passage. On coming within view of old Fernandina a white flag was displayed, and, on reaching new Fernandina, a few rifle-shots were fired from the bushes on shore. When the gun-boats reached Fernandina, the steamboat Darlington, loaded with refugees, had left for Nassau Sound, and a railroad train of flat cars was making its way to the railway bridge across to the mainland. Two citizens

on the train were killed by shots from the gun-boats, and the Darlington was captured at the drawbridge. Fernandina remained in possession of the Union forces until the close of the war. On the 16th of March Jacksonville was occupied by the Federal forces. Previous to their arrival a battalion of Confederate troops, numbering four hundred, under Col. C. F. Hopkins, had come in, and, under orders that they had received, burned the saw-mills and foundry. The Judson House, a fine hotel, was also burned by them. Gen. T. W. Sherman and staff arrived at Jacksonville on the 19th of March, when a meeting of loyal citizens was held, and steps were taken to secure coöperation of other counties in restoring Florida to the Union. Some little skirmishing took place between the Union troops and Confederates at the outposts ; but on April 8th the town was evacuated by the Federal forces and many buildings were burned—set fire to, it is claimed, by the soldiers or hangers-on of the Federal forces.

St. Augustine was surrendered to Commodore Rogers without resistance, and on the 11th of March was garrisoned by Federal troops and remained in possession of the Union forces until the close of the war.

An expedition was sent to New Smyrna on the Penguin gun-boat, under Lieutenant Budd and Acting Master S. W. Mather, and, having gone up the inlet in boats, was fired upon by Confederate troops under Captain Strain and Lieutenant Chambers. Lieutenant Budd and Acting Master Mather and six seamen were killed. Six men were wounded and three captured. On the 9th of May, 1862, Pensacola was evacuated by the Confederate forces, all stores were removed, and the principal lumber mills in the neighborhood were burned. On the same day General Hunter ordered Colonel Bell, commanding at St. Augustine, “to at once drive out of your lines all persons, without reference to sex, who have not taken and still refuse to take the oath of allegiance.” A similar order was made by

Brigadier-General Saxton in September, 1862, directing the provost-marshal to expel all such people as should refuse to take the oath of allegiance. A large number of women and children were put on board the steamer Burnside, and, off the bar of the St. John's River, were met by Gen. A. H. Terry, who, under the direction of General Brannon, countermanded the order of General Saxton, and had the Burnside return to St. Augustine with the expelled people. On May 20th Captain H. T. Blocker attacked a boat from a blockading vessel in the Appalachicola River and killed or wounded seventeen of the twenty-one on board. On the 30th of June a Federal gun-boat attacked the Confederate battery at Tampa Bay, held by Captain Pearson, and, after several hours' cannonading, withdrew with but little damage to either side. A battery erected on the St. John's River, at St. John's Bluff, mounting several heavy guns, was placed under command of Col. C. F. Hopkins. A heavy force of United States gun-boats and troops was brought to reduce this work. The troops were landed and, flanking the position, rendered it untenable, and it was abandoned, the Confederate force withdrawing. General Brannon reoccupied Jacksonville for a few days in October, 1862, and again evacuated that place on the 9th of October, taking with him twenty-seven negroes and several refugees to Hilton Head. Gen. Joseph Finegan was in command in Florida, with a nominal force of about seventeen hundred men, mostly cavalry, but no hostile movements of any consequence were made from either side. About five hundred people were engaged in salt-boiling, principally on the Gulf coast in Middle and West Florida.

In January, 1863, Colonel Higginson, with a regiment of South Carolina colored troops, went up the St. Mary's River and came back to Fernandina without accomplishing anything of note, but was much impressed with his colored soldiers' eagerness for fighting. Gen. Rufus Saxton had become

possessed with the idea that a great deal could be done by securing the negroes in Florida and arming them in the United States service. He obtained Mr. Lincoln's indorsement of this plan, and proposed to reoccupy Jacksonville and make it an asylum for negroes in Florida and elsewhere. He was authorized to enlist five thousand negroes for laborers' duty and five thousand for military service.

On March 10, 1863, an expedition consisting of colored troops, under Colonel Higginson and Colonel Montgomery, took possession of Jacksonville. General Saxton reported that the negroes were collecting from all quarters, but he was apprehensive of being attacked by the Confederate forces. General Finegan closely surrounded the town, and some severe skirmishes took place, in one of which Surgeon Merideth, of the Confederate force, was killed. General Saxton was reinforced, and on the 25th of March moved out against the Confederates, but, after a sharp skirmish, retired. Colonel Montgomery went up to Palatka, raiding the plantations along the river and carrying off the negroes. In the act of landing at Palatka his troops were fired upon with fatal effect by Confederate troops under Captain Dickison, and he immediately left and returned to Jacksonville.

On the 27th of March, 1863, after seventeen days' occupation, General Hunter ordered Jacksonville to be again evacuated, thus breaking up General Saxton's plans for recovering Florida. In April a naval expedition scoured the west coast between Cedar Key and Tampa Bay for small blockade runners. An attack was made on Bayport, where a sloop loaded with corn was burned by the Federal force and a large schooner loaded with cotton burned by the Confederates themselves to avoid its capture. There was a brisk engagement, but no great loss on either side. During the summer, matters remained very quiet. In October two gun-boats came into Tampa Bay and destroyed the steamer *Scottish Chief* and sloop *Dale*,

losing on their retreat three killed, ten wounded, and three prisoners.

The military operations in Florida prior to 1864, with the exception of the operations at Pensacola in 1861, had been comparatively unimportant. Fernandina, St. Augustine, Key West, and Pensacola were continuously occupied by the Federal garrisons, which seldom came beyond their precincts. Most of the Florida troops were in Virginia or the West, and only a few hundred, in movable detachments, remained to guard the interior of the State. The Confederate armies were receiving large supplies of beef and salt from Florida. This had become known to the commanders of the Federal troops, and it was deemed very important to cut off this source of supply. The government at Washington, moreover, had been led to believe that there was a strong Union sentiment in Florida, which would declare itself if sufficient force was thrown into the State. President Lincoln sent down Major Hay as a special agent to further this end, with blanks and papers to be used in the process of restoring the State to the Union. General Gillmore, who was in command of the department in the South, entertained similar views.

CHAPTER XXXIII

The attempted military occupation of northern Florida by General Seymour—Battle of Olustee—Defeat of Seymour—Federal attack on Gainesville and capture of Union troops by Dickison—Battle of Natural Bridge—Florida troops in Virginia and Tennessee.

A.D. 1864-1865

GENERAL GILLMORE'S plans were to occupy Florida in force in order to procure an outlet for cotton, lumber, turpentine, etc., to cut off the Confederate sources of commissaries' supplies, to obtain recruits for colored regiments, and to inaugurate measures for the restoration of Florida to the Union. Orders were given to Brig.-Gen. Truman Seymour, on the 14th of February, 1864, to embark several regiments of troops (part of whom were colored), a mounted brigade, and several batteries from Hilton Head for Florida. These troops landed at Jacksonville on the 7th of February. On the night of the 8th an advance was made by a mounted force under Col. Guy Henry, which passed Camp Finegan, seven miles west of Jacksonville, surprised and captured a battery three miles west of that place at midnight, and reached Baldwin on the morning of the 9th, capturing en route five guns and several wagons and mules at Picketts, eleven miles west of Jacksonville. Colonel Henry moved on to Barbers, on the south prong of the St. Mary's, where he encountered and had a brisk engagement with Confederate cavalry under Major Harrison, who retired before them, and he then reached Sanderson, forty miles west of Jacksonville.

General Finegan had removed all his stores from this point except fifteen hundred bushels of corn, which he was forced to destroy for want of means of transportation. From San-

derson the mounted force under Colonel Henry pushed on to within three miles of Lake City, where General Finegan had massed the forces he had been able to gather and had constructed some defensive works. Colonel Henry's force reached this point about 10 A.M. Regarding the opposing force as too numerous to attack in their entrenchments, although, in fact, a comparatively weak force, Colonel Henry marched back to Sanderson and thence to Barbers without making any attack.

On the 13th of February a mounted force made a raid from Sanderson to Gainesville, reaching there the next day, capturing cotton, sugar, etc., on the way. While there they made a temporary breastwork of cotton bales piled across the street, and repulsed an attack from two companies of Confederate cavalry. Burning the captured stores, the Union troops left the next day, and rejoined General Seymour on the 17th. Encountering so far but little opposition, and meeting with some success, General Seymour was much elated. He had written previously to General Gillmore that an attack on Lake City was not advisable, and that what had been said of the desire of the Floridians to come back into the Union was a delusion, and advised falling back upon Jacksonville. Yet soon after he was so much encouraged by these two raids that he decided to make a forward movement. On the morning of the 20th of February he moved out from Barbers with all his disposable force, stated by him officially to be five thousand five hundred men and sixteen guns, with the expectation of meeting the Confederate force, reported to be four to five thousand strong, at Lake City. Passing Sanderson, eight miles on his march, he was informed that he would meet the enemy in force, fifteen thousand strong, some miles east of Lake City, but he discredited the information. About two o'clock in the afternoon of the 20th the advance reported a small body of Confederate cavalry in front, falling slowly back. It was soon reported that it was suspected that the entire Confederate force was directly

in front. A halt was called and a battery placed in position to shell the woods in his front, which was quickly replied to by a Confederate battery, three solid shot striking near the general and his staff. All the guns were at once placed in battery, skirmishers were thrown out, the infantry formed in line of battle. The opposing line soon came in view. The ground was favorable for the movement of troops, being firm and even, and, although covered with pine forest, was devoid of underbrush.

The battle commenced in earnest with a heavy fire from the Confederate lines. A regiment of New Hampshire troops, armed with Spencer rifles, found the fire too heavy, and soon broke in confusion. A colored regiment coming under fire, having its colonel and major killed, soon broke and retreated. The Confederate troops pressed forward to meet fresh Union troops, by whom they were held in check, and the deadly struggle continued for three hours, until at dusk, being hard pressed by the Confederates, the Union troops rapidly fell back in disorder towards Sanderson, and afterwards to Baldwin. General Finegan, for several days prior to the engagement, had only about two thousand men, but was reinforced by a force of regulars from Georgia shortly before the battle, which had been ordered to his relief by General Beauregard, and had reached him by forced marches. His whole force was then forty-six hundred men and twelve guns. He had thrown up entrenchments at Olustee in a very strong position, flanked by two ponds and a cypress swamp, and had expected to make the fight there, but, upon information of the advance of General Seymour, he sent out a force of cavalry and part of the Georgia troops to skirmish with the enemy, who were then about three miles east of Olustee. The skirmish developed into a battle in which all the forces were engaged as they came up. The Georgia regiments under Generals Colquitt and Harrison, heroes in many an engagement, fought with steadiness and dis-

cretion, remaining for some time steady under fire during a critical period of the battle while awaiting a supply of ammunition. General Seymour's forces numbered nearly one thousand more than the Confederates. His men as a whole fought bravely, and, after marching fourteen miles, fought for three hours before they retreated. Their batteries were well served, but, losing many men and horses, five guns were left on the field and sixteen hundred stands of arms. A vigorous pursuit of cavalry would have probably captured a large number of the routed men. The losses, as officially reported, were, on the Federal side, eighteen hundred and sixty-one killed, wounded, and missing, and on the Confederate nine hundred and forty killed and wounded. It was one of the best fought and most sanguinary battles of the Civil War. The defeat at Olustee put an end to President Lincoln's expectations of restoring Florida to the Union, and to General Gillmore's and General Seymour's plans for separating her from the rest of the Confederacy. The Union troops retired to Jacksonville, and both sides were reinforced. Some minor operations in other parts of the State succeeded the battle of Olustee. A detachment from Point Washington on the 8th of February surprised and captured Captain Floyd's company of Confederate volunteers on the Choctawhatchee. On their return next day the Union troops were attacked by Confederate cavalry, and their prisoners were recaptured.

Palatka was occupied on March 10th by Colonel Barton. On April 1st the United States transport *Maple Leaf* was blown up and sunk by a Confederate torpedo off Mandarin Point, on St. John's River, and what was left above water was burned. Some skirmishing took place around Palatka of no great importance. An expedition was to have gone out from Palatka in April to make a raid in Marion County, but Palatka was ordered evacuated on the 12th of April, and a large part of the Union troops were withdrawn from East Florida. Shortly

afterwards a considerable portion of the Confederate forces in Florida were sent to reinforce the armies in Virginia and Tennessee. A skirmish took place a few miles from Barrancas, in which an officer and a few men from the Seventh Alabama were captured. On April 16th the United States transport Hunter was blown up and destroyed by a torpedo near the Maple Leaf in St. John's River. Tampa was occupied by a detachment of Union troops on May 6th, and the Confederate guns and battery disabled. The United States transport Harriet A. Weed was blown up and sunk by a torpedo near Cedar Creek on the 9th of May, and the crew drowned. On May 9th Capt. J. J. Dickison, of the Florida cavalry, captured fifty-six men and two officers at Welaka and Saunders, on the St. John's. On the 23d of May he planted a section of artillery on the west bank of the St. John's, near Horse Landing, and captured the United States gun-boat Columbian, with seven officers, nine seamen, and forty-seven colored soldiers. A number were killed during the engagement and twenty-five drowned. Captain Childs, with a Union force from Fort Myers, landed at Bayport and captured some cotton and negroes. Major Weeks, with a United States force from Cedar Key, landed at St. Andrew's Bay, and captured cotton and burned bridges.

General Ashboth moved out of Pensacola on the 21st of July to attack Fort Hodgson, fifteen miles from Pensacola, which, after half an hour's engagement, was evacuated by the Confederates. On August 15th a raiding party left Baldwin, commanded by Colonel Harris, of Seventy-fifth of Ohio, with a hundred and thirty-eight men of that regiment, and ninety men of Fourth Massachusetts Cavalry, with one piece of artillery and ten men, followed the line of the railroad to Waldo, and thence by the public road east of Newnan's Lake to Gainesville. Immediately after their arrival there they were attacked by a force of cavalry under Captain Dickison, with one piece of artillery, and completely routed. Colonel Harris



CAPT. J. J. DICKISON, THE MARION OF FLORIDA

escaped with less than forty men to Magnolia. He had gathered on his march two hundred negroes, forty mules, wagons, and other plunder, all of which was captured by Captain Dickison, whose whole force numbered one hundred and seventy-five, while that of Colonel Harris was three hundred and five. Captain Dickison's loss was but two killed and four wounded.

This action added greatly to the reputation of Captain Dickison, and earned for him the name of "the Marion of Florida." In September General Ashboth made a raid from Pensacola on Marianna, capturing many citizens, much private property, and carrying off six hundred negroes. On October 24th Captain Dickison, in a skirmish near Magnolia, on the St. John's, captured twenty-three prisoners and thirty-two horses, ten Union soldiers being killed in the engagement. Everything remained in comparative quiet during the months of November and December, 1864. On February 13, 1865, two Federal regiments advanced from Cedar Key up the Florida Railroad to the neighborhood of Levyville. Captain Dickison gathered a force of about one hundred and fifty men to meet them, when the Union troops fell back to Station Number Four, where Dickison attacked them. After four hours' fighting, at the end of which the Confederates had exhausted their ammunition, the Union troops retreated, having sustained a loss of seventy killed and wounded. Dickison had six killed and wounded.

Space will not permit following the movements of the Florida troops in the armies of the Confederacy beyond the limits of the State during the four years of conflict. On every field they fought gallantly and well. There were organized in Florida twelve regiments of infantry, two regiments and one battalion of cavalry, and four light batteries. Most of the regiments left Florida in 1862 for the armies of Tennessee and Virginia. The First Florida Regiment was in the battle of Shiloh in April, 1862; the First and Third Regiments were in the battle of Murfreesboro, and lost heavily; the First, Third,

and Fourth were engaged at Jackson, Miss., and captured two hundred prisoners and the colors of the Twenty-eighth, Forty-first, and Fifty-third Illinois, and were in almost every subsequent engagement of the army of Tennessee. The Second Florida Regiment went to Virginia, and was in all the peninsular engagements, losing its gallant colonel, George T. Ward, at Williamsburg, and lost heavily in officers and men during the seven days' battle around Richmond, among whom was Major George W. Call. This regiment was also in the terrible battles of Gettysburg and Sharpsburg. The Fourth Regiment was attached to the army of Tennessee, and shared in its victories and losses. The Third Regiment was attached to the army of Virginia, and bore its share at Gettysburg and Sharpsburg. The Sixth Regiment was with the army of Tennessee, and was engaged at Chickamauga, Missionary Ridge, etc. The Seventh Regiment was with the army of Tennessee, and in the battles of Chickamauga, Missionary Ridge, and other engagements. The Eighth Regiment was in the army of Virginia, and engaged at Fredericksburg, Gettysburg, and elsewhere. The First Regiment of Florida Cavalry rendered good service with the army of Tennessee, as did also Martin's Battery. The other organizations and batteries served in Florida and Georgia.

Florida was well represented in the higher ranks of the Confederate army : Gen. E. Kirby-Smith, a full general ; W. W. Loring, a major-general, both distinguished officers of the old army, and M. L. Smith, J. Patton Anderson, Joseph Finegan, J. J. Finley, W. G. M. Davis, E. A. Perry, Robert Bullock, and J. J. Dickison held commissions as brigadier-generals.

Exempts, schoolboys, invalids, and clergy did occasional service when needed. The cattle, the salt, the provisions, and crops of Florida were most important in sustaining the armies in the field from the beginning to the end of the war. Florida, in proportion to its population, furnished more troops to the Confederacy than any other State.

CHAPTER XXXIV

After the war—Reconstruction—Constitutional convention—New constitution adopted—State government set aside—Florida part of a military district—A newer constitution—Political events.

A.D. 1865-1875

GOVERNOR JOHN MILTON died on April 1, 1865, and Lieut.-Gov. A. K. Allison assumed the duties of governor, but was very soon, together with Senator Yulee, consigned to Fort Pulaski, Ga., as prisoner of State, and held in confinement for a twelvemonth. Senator Stephen R. Mallory, who had held the office of secretary of the navy under the Confederate government, was imprisoned some time in Fort Lafayette, New York harbor.

The Confederate forces in Florida made a formal surrender to General McCook on May 20, 1865.

Judge William Marvin was appointed by President Johnson provisional governor of Florida in July, 1865, with authority to call a constitutional convention. On the 3d of August he issued a call for an election, to be held October 10th, of delegates to a constitutional convention, to be held October 25th. An amnesty oath was required as a qualification to vote at such election. This oath was subscribed by seven thousand and forty-two persons. Fifty-six delegates were chosen, and the convention met at Tallahassee October 25, 1865. The ordinance of secession was repealed and a new constitution adopted. The new constitution provided for an election to be held on November 20, 1865, for governor, cabinet officers, judges, legislature, county officers, and members of Congress. The whole vote

cast at this election was less than four thousand. David S. Walker was elected governor and Ferdinand McLeod representative in Congress.

The Legislature met on December 20, 1865. Provisional Governor Marvin retired, and D. S. Walker was inaugurated governor. Wilkinson Call and William Marvin were chosen as United States senators. These gentlemen, however, were not admitted to their seats in the Senate.

The thirteenth amendment to the Constitution was ratified on December 28th, only two votes being cast in the negative.

In February, 1866, Congress enlarged the functions of the Freedmen's Bureau, and it became the most prominent agency of government in Florida, and, through its organization and subordinate officers, largely controlled local affairs throughout the State.

The year 1866 witnessed the restoration of the functions of the State government and a resuscitation of the various employments of its citizens.

The Legislature again met in December, 1866. In the mean time the fourteenth amendment to the Constitution of the United States had passed Congress, and was proposed to the Legislatures for ratification. It virtually disfranchised the most intelligent classes of the South. The having held office of any kind, national or State, disqualified from voting or holding any office in the State. For these reasons Governor Walker advised the rejection of the fourteenth amendment, and the Legislature refused its ratification.

The reconstruction law passed by Congress in March, 1867, over the President's veto, set off the Southern States into five military districts, over each of which the President was authorized to place an army officer with supreme control. It was provided that a registration should be made of the citizens residing in each county in each State, and, before registration, each applicant was required to make oath that he had not

taken an oath as a military or civil officer of the United States, or of any State, or given aid or comfort to the enemies of the United States. After such registration an election should be held by the qualified voters of members of a constitutional convention.

Florida was made a part of the Third Military District, under command of Gen. John T. Pope, who was succeeded by Gen. G. C. Meade, with Gen. John T. Sprague commanding in Florida.

The registration lists showed 11,148 white voters and 15,434 colored, but only 14,503 votes in all were cast, nearly all for a convention.

Forty-five members were elected to the convention. On the 20th of January, 1868, the day appointed for the meeting of the convention at Tallahassee, twenty of the delegates met and elected a president and secretary. Other delegates afterwards reported, and on the 21st of February eighteen of the delegates withdrew from the convention and went to Monticello, leaving the body without a quorum. The remaining members continued in session, framed a constitution and adopted it, and sent it to General Meade for approval, and took a recess.

The seceders came up at midnight from Monticello, and by a *coup de main* took possession of the hall of the House of Representatives, in which the convention had been holding its session, and organized as a convention, having obtained enough members to form a quorum. Several members of the opposing section were ousted, and others seated. The opposing section, known as the Richard faction, appealed to General Meade, who came to Florida, and directed both factions to come together and take seats in the convention, that both presiding officers resign, and General Sprague take the chair and reorganize the convention, which was done accordingly—a curious chapter of constitution-making. The convention then proceeded to adopt a constitution, known as the constitution of 1868. By

this constitution suffrage was to be universal. Judges and all State officers were to be appointed by the governor, with the advice and consent of the Senate. Upon a popular vote the constitution was ratified by a majority of five thousand.

Harrison Reed, who had come to Florida after the war, holding a government office, was elected governor, his opponent being George W. Scott. A Legislature consisting of twenty-four senators and fifty-three representatives was elected, of whom a large majority were Republicans and a considerable number negroes.

It was no small trial to the white people of Florida to find themselves disfranchised to a large extent and excluded from the halls of legislation and official positions, while the places they had been accustomed to occupy were filled with their former servants or new-comers, but the situation was accepted for the most part in a patient and manly way.

Ignoring the action of the preceding Legislature, the newly elected Legislature ratified both the thirteenth and fourteenth amendments to the Constitution of the United States, and the election of senators previously made was disregarded. By the act of Congress of June 25, 1868, Florida was readmitted to representation in Congress, and the newly elected State officers were installed on July 4, 1868.

Of the white Republicans prominent in politics and holding office, the larger number had come to Florida in some military capacity during the Civil War or in some civil capacity at its close. They soon divided into two factions—the one supporting and the other opposing Governor Reed. Attempts were made at three different times by Governor Reed's opponents to impeach him for malfeasance in office, but failed in the attempt.

The Legislature, on June 15, 1868, ratified the fifteenth amendment to the Constitution of the United States, and elected T. W. Osborn and Abijah Gilbert as senators. Osborn was chief of the Freedmen's Bureau, and Gilbert, a well-to-do

resident of St. Augustine, recently came to the State. Charles M. Hamilton, an agent of the Freedmen's Bureau, was elected to the House of Representatives. Presidential electors were elected by the Legislature, and not by the people, who cast the vote of Florida for Gen. U. S. Grant, this being the only instance in the history of the State of presidential electors being chosen by the Legislature. In the mean time the new State constitution having provided for all the local offices being filled by appointment of the governor, there was a general scramble for such appointments. Governor Reed probably did as well as could be expected in view of the situation. As a rule, the offices were filled by recent comers upon the recommendation of political bosses. Some were residents of the State and men of good standing.

An era of large expenditures and scrip issue became prevalent in the State, and in all the counties taxes were assessed higher than ever before, and tax sales were numerous. State and county scrip, for the payment of which there was not sufficient funds in the treasury, depreciated at one time to twenty-five per cent. of its face value. The general financial condition of the State was very unsatisfactory.

In 1870 Josiah T. Walls, an intelligent colored citizen of Alachua County, was nominated as the Republican candidate for Congress, being opposed by S. L. Niblack as the Democratic candidate. The State canvassers threw out several counties and gave Walls the certificate of election, but he was unseated by Congress, and Niblack declared entitled to the seat. W. D. Bloxham, who was a candidate for lieutenant-governor, and who had been counted out, was, by a decision of the supreme court of the State, given that office.

In 1872 Ossian B. Hart was elected governor. As a result of the increased population shown by the census of 1870, Florida had become entitled to two congressional districts. Josiah T. Walls, the colored Republican candidate, was elected in 1872

to represent the second district, and W. J. Purman the first. Governor Hart, who had long been in bad health, died in January, 1874, and was succeeded by Lieut.-Gov. M. L. Stearns.

At the session of the Legislature in January, 1873, an effort was made on the part of the State of Alabama to obtain a cession to that State of all that part of Florida lying west of the Appalachicola River, the sum of one million dollars to be paid to the State of Florida for the cession. The Legislature of Florida entertained the proposition so far as to appoint three commissioners, W. J. Purman, C. E. Dyke, and M. H. Moragne, who came to terms of agreement with the Alabama commissioners, but the question was required to be submitted to vote in the counties interested, and also to be ratified by the Legislature. The election was never held, and the matter dropped. Whether it could have been consummated without the consent of Congress is problematical.

A person by the name of King, claiming to be a Seminole, but regarded as only a simulated one, came to Tallahassee and asked to be received as a representative of the Seminoles, but the Legislature declined to seat him. It is noteworthy that in this session of the Legislature about one-half of the members were negroes. In the succeeding Legislature of 1875 parties were nearly equally divided, and Charles W. Jones, a Democratic member of the Legislature from Escambia County, was elected senator.

CHAPTER XXXV

End of the reconstruction period—Florida's presidential vote hangs in the balance—Rapid increase in the construction of railroads—Increase of population.

A.D. 1875-1890

THE Republican party, mainly by the aid of the colored vote, had now been in power in the State since 1868. In the fall election of 1876 the vote was very close, but finally resulted in the election of the Democratic candidate for governor, George F. Drew. The Tilden electors by the returns were elected by a majority of ninety-seven, but the Board of State Canvassers, through rejection of certain counties and precincts, gave the Hayes electors a majority of nine hundred and twenty-eight.

The election was so close in the United States that the four votes of Florida were necessary to decide, and the contest over the vote of Florida was transferred to Washington, where the electoral commissioners, by a vote of eight to seven, awarded the electoral vote of Florida to Mr. Hayes.

Governor Drew's administration was welcomed by the people of Florida as a return to home rule. The finances of the State at once improved. The State bonds rose from sixty-five per cent. to par, taxes were lowered, and a general feeling of relief from years of factional contests and divisions was felt.

The colored people had become tired of being used as instruments to advance to power people who had no sympathy with them, and were indeed glad to see their old friends and former masters placed in a better condition.

The population of Florida, as shown by the census of 1880, was 269,493, of whom 142,605 were white and 126,696 colored,

besides 180 Indians. The assessed valuation of taxable property was thirty-one millions of dollars.

At the fall election held in 1880 William D. Bloxham was elected governor. During Governor Bloxham's administration the various claims against the internal improvement fund of the State were settled by a sale of four million acres of swamp and overflowed lands to Hamilton Disston, of Pennsylvania, for the sum of one million of dollars. At the session of the Legislature in 1881 numerous charters were granted to railroad companies, accompanied with grants of lands, viz., the East Florida Railroad Company, from Jacksonville to the St. Mary's River, being part of the Savannah, Florida, and Western system ; the Gainesville, Ocala, and Charlotte Harbor ; the Green Cove Springs and Melrose Company ; the Jacksonville, St. Augustine, and Halifax ; Monticello and Georgia ; Orange Ridge, Deland, and Atlantic ; Palatka and Indian River. The most important road chartered was the Pensacola and Atlantic, from Pensacola to Chattahoochee, to which a land grant of twenty thousand acres per mile was made. The Silver Springs, Ocala, and Gulf ; St. John's and Lake Eustis ; Fernandina and Jacksonville, and others, were constructed. Up to 1884 one thousand and forty-five miles of railroad had been built, a very great achievement, considering the population of the State and the strictly local character of the roads. With the construction of railroads the population advanced rapidly, and an especial impetus was given in the peninsular portion of the State to the planting out of orange groves. From a comparatively small product previously, the crop of oranges in 1885 reached nine hundred thousand boxes, and many settlers and investors were induced to engage in this alluring industry.

Notwithstanding a severe freeze on the 12th of January, 1886, which destroyed all the fruit on the trees and to some extent injured the trees themselves, the ensuing crops grew larger every year.

General Edward A. Perry, of Pensacola, was elected Governor at the fall election in 1884. Governor Perry was a native of Massachusetts, and had been a resident of Florida for a considerable period before the Civil War. Like many other men of Northern birth, he espoused the cause of the South. He entered the Confederate service and attained the rank of brigadier-general.

In 1885 a constitutional convention was called, which met at Tallahassee on the 9th day of June. The constitution framed by this convention was ratified and went into operation January 1, 1887. Among other changes, it provided for the election of all cabinet officers by the people, and also the judges of the supreme court, but not the judges of the circuit courts. All the county officers, which before were appointed by the governor, were to be elected by the people, except county commissioners, who were still to be appointed by the governor. The office of lieutenant-governor was abolished, and the duties of that office vested in the president of the State Senate. The Legislature was to meet biennially, and limited to sixty days' session. A homestead provision of a most liberal nature was incorporated in the constitution. The time of meeting of the Legislature was changed from January to the first week in April. By an oversight this has led to a vacancy in the office of United States senator between March 4th and the day of election of senator by the Legislature.

In the summer of 1888 an epidemic of yellow fever of a mild form prevailed in Jacksonville and Fernandina. The deaths in Jacksonville were about five hundred in all, and in Fernandina about forty, being less than ten per cent. in each city of the whole number of cases. Measures were at once adopted to make any future recurrence of the epidemic unlikely.

At the fall election of 1888 Francis P. Fleming was elected governor. The entire vote of the State was 66,641, of which the Cleveland electors received 39,561.

CHAPTER XXXVI

Increase of population—Building of great hotels—Discovery of phosphate deposits—Growth of the orange industry—The destructive freezes of 1894 and 1895—Financial condition—Public schools, colleges, and seminaries—Statistics of population.

A.D. 1890-1898

By the census of 1890 the population of Florida was shown to have increased to 391,422, of whom 224,949 were white and 166,475 colored, giving the white population a preponderance of sixty thousand over the colored.

About this period Mr. Henry M. Flagler, Mr. Henry B. Plant, and other capitalists expended large sums in building magnificent tourists' hotels at St. Augustine, Tampa, and elsewhere, by this means very largely increasing the tourist travel during the winter months. The railroads leading to Florida increased the facilities and improved the comfort of travel in every direction.

Henry L. Mitchell was elected governor in 1892. At the election in 1892 the Cleveland presidential electors received 30,143 votes. No Republican presidential ticket was voted for, but Weaver, Populist, received 4,843 votes. Florida was the only one of the United States in which no vote was cast for Benjamin Harrison, the Republican nominee for President.

During the year 1894 the Florida Central and Peninsular Railroad was extended to Savannah, Ga., and Columbia, S. C., and the St. Augustine and Indian River Railroad to Lake Worth, where Mr. Flagler built the Hotel Ponciana, which is one of the most extensive and beautiful hotels in this country.

On the 29th of December, 1894, a very severe freeze occurred, affecting nearly every portion of Florida. The temperature sank to fourteen degrees above zero at Jacksonville and nineteen degrees above zero at Ocala, Rockledge, and Tampa. All of the ungathered fruit, estimated at over two millions of boxes, was frozen on the trees. The young trees were generally killed to the ground, and the smaller limbs of the older trees killed back. The loss of fruit alone was estimated at two millions of dollars. In a few weeks the bearing trees began to throw out new growth and the sap had generally risen in the trees, when, on the 7th of February, 1895, another still more destructive freeze came, the temperature falling to fifteen degrees above zero, killing to the ground all trees under ten years of age, the limbs and in most cases the trunks of all the older trees. This extended as far as Manatee and Pease Creek, leaving but a small part of the orange district uninjured. The sour trees fared as badly as the sweet trees, and one universal scene of devastation overspread the orange-growing region of the State, entailing a loss estimated at over twenty-five million dollars. In the course of four months nearly all the trees sent up new shoots, and, in the course of six years from the time they were frozen down, it is anticipated that the groves will again be in bearing. Many groves are already beginning to bear.

In 1881 Mr. J. F. LeBarron, C.E., found phosphate pebble in Pease Creek, but it attracted no attention at the time, and it was not until 1889 that, in sinking a well at Dunellon, in Marion County, rock which proved to be phosphate of a high grade was found, and the value of the deposits appreciated.

Discoveries soon began to be made in other localities, and the whole country was being searched for phosphate deposits. Companies were formed, lands purchased, and machinery obtained to put the phosphate deposits in a condition to be shipped to the manufacturers of fertilizer. The phosphate belt

extends for about two hundred miles along the western portion of the peninsula, through the counties of Jefferson, Madison, Taylor, Marion, Citrus, Hernando, Sumter, and Pasco, and in the beds of several rivers. The export for 1894--95 is about five hundred thousand tons, of the value of five millions of dollars, shipped through Fernandina, Brunswick, Savannah, Port Tampa, and Punta Gorda. The supply is considered inexhaustible for at least a long period.

The area of timber lands in Florida is very large, and the value of timber exports at present exceeds all other products, the annual export, by the census of 1890, being placed at seventeen million dollars.

The orange crop of 1893--94 was estimated at five millions of boxes, of the value in market of over eight million dollars, and vegetable and garden products of the value of over one million dollars, while the field crops, by the census of 1890, were valued at about seven million dollars.

The financial condition of Florida is exceptionally good. Of her whole bonded indebtedness of \$1,275,000, \$357,700 only is held by individuals. The remainder belongs to the several invested funds of the State. The outstanding bonds command a high premium in the market.

The receipts into the treasury, from all sources, for the year ending December 31, 1894, amounted to \$692,725; the disbursements, to \$572,812.80. The assessed valuation for the State for the year 1894 was \$104,260,629.91. Total State tax of all kinds, \$599,828.54, and county tax, \$1,053,601.71. The rate of taxation for the year 1895 is four and one-quarter mills for State tax, and from eight to twelve mills for county tax, varying in each county. There were in 1895 2,736 miles of main track of railroad in the State. The East Coast Canal is designed to open an inland water communication from St. Augustine to Key Biscayne Bay, and is now near completion. The various navigable rivers permeating the State, in connection

with the extensive railway system, leave little to be desired in the way of transportation facilities. The State still owns a large body of overflowed lands, principally in the Everglades, which may at some future time be reclaimed and made valuable.

Few States have made more liberal provision for education than Florida. Two State seminaries, one at Tallahassee and the other at Gainesville, and the Agricultural College, at Lake City, give free tuition to residents of the State. An institute for the deaf and dumb, at St. Augustine, provides for that unfortunate class. A normal college, located at De Funiak, in Walton County, is supported by the State. A State normal and industrial college for colored students, located at Tallahassee, is well endowed by the Morrel and State funds, and suitably equipped for the purpose. The Jasper Normal Institute was established in Hamilton County by the citizens of that county, and had an enrollment for the year 1894 of two hundred and seventy-five students. Several State denominational institutions of a high character have been established in Florida. The John B. Stetson University, Baptist, at De Land, is one of the largest and best equipped of these, by the munificence of Mr. John B. Stetson, of Philadelphia. The Rollins College, Congregational, at Winter Park, is a well-established institution, with ample buildings and considerable means. The Florida Conference College, Methodist, at Leesburg, has been but recently established, but promises very successful results. Other good schools, established under local or denominational auspices, are to be found in centers of population throughout the State.

The public school system was established by the constitution of 1868, and was organized by C. F. Chase, who succeeded in placing the system upon a permanent basis under the act of January 30, 1869. The successors of Mr. Chase in that office were Rev. Charles Beecher, a brother of Henry Ward Beecher; Jonathan C. Gibbs, a colored man; W. W. Hicks, W. P. Halsey,

E. K. Foster, A. J. Russel, and the present efficient superintendent, W. N. Sheats. Mr. Sheats, in his biennial report in 1895, states that the amount raised by taxation and devoted to the support of public schools in 1894 was \$647,174.86. The value of school property was \$548,284.49. The number of public schools was 2,404, of which 1,775 were schools for white children and 629 for colored. The total enrollment of scholars, 96,775, of whom 59,503 were white and 37,372 colored. Salary paid teachers, \$542,098.06. Number of white teachers, 2,151 ; of colored, 772, being one-third of the whole number. It is probable that eighty-five per cent. at least of the school tax is paid by the white population, which indicates that they bear the taxation not only for their own children, but the principal portion of the cost of the education of the colored race in the public schools. In Leon County there are twenty-nine white schools and thirty-six colored. In Jefferson County there are thirty-one white schools and thirty-four colored, and in all the counties having a large negro population the schools are fairly divided. The school tax throughout the State averages about five and one-half mills on the dollar, inclusive of the State one mill tax.

In September, 1896, Florida was visited with the severest hurricane ever known. Entering the State from the Gulf of Mexico near Cedar Keys and the mouth of the Suwanee River, it swept across the peninsula in a northeast direction into the State of Georgia, reaching the coast in the vicinity of Brunswick. The track of the hurricane was nearly forty miles in width, taking in the western-northwestern portion of Alachua County, along the Suwanee River, and portions of Bradford, Baker, and Nassau Counties. The pine forests were prostrated in its track like a field of grain, and many millions of feet of valuable timber were destroyed, and for a period the public roads were rendered impassable. Houses were blown down and many lives lost.

At the November election in 1896 William D. Bloxham was elected governor, and the vote of the State was given to the electors on the William J. Bryan ticket.

The proximity of Florida to Cuba caused much interest and substantial sympathy to be shown to the insurgents in Cuba, who in 1895 began the determined effort to free the island from Spanish rule. Large numbers of Cubans had come into Florida, and formed a considerable portion of the population of Key West and Tampa, and had settled in considerable numbers in other portions of the State. As the contest went on and the insurgents gained strength, expeditions were secretly formed from time to time in Florida ports, and cargoes of arms and ammunition were successfully landed on the coast of Cuba. The efforts of the government officials to prevent these infractions of the laws of neutrality were generally ineffectual. Small and swift steamers darted out at night from unexpected and unguarded localities, and were soon beyond the range of detention. One of these, called the *Three Friends*, achieved considerable fame. The sympathies of the people of the State, as well as of other parts of the country, sided with the insurgents. The harsh methods adopted by the Spanish governors as the war went on, still more effected a strong anti-Spanish public sentiment, and the relations between the two countries became strained.

The inhuman policy of General Weyler in huddling the pacificos, or non-contestants, into the towns without means of support, leading to starvation and extreme misery and death, awakened the humane feelings of the people of the United States.

Senators and representatives who had visited Cuba made vivid statements before Congress of the harrowing scenes they had witnessed there, and when the popular mind was greatly excited on behalf of the suffering Cubans, the treacherous destruction of the battleship *Maine* in Havana harbor by a sub-

marine mine added fuel to the flame and easily led on to hostilities.

Florida naturally became the gathering point for the troops called out by the President, and Tampa and its vicinity were occupied by large bodies of regulars and volunteers.

The Santiago expedition sailed from Tampa, while Key West became the rendezvous of the naval forces. Later on extensive camps were established at Jacksonville, Miami, and Fernandina. Fort Clinch, at Fernandina, was garrisoned and mines planted in the harbor. The First Florida Volunteers went early in the service, under Colonel Lovell. Major-Gen. Fitzhugh Lee was encamped with the Seventh Corps, awaiting orders to proceed to Cuba or Puerto Rico, when the destruction of Cervera's fleet and the surrender of Santiago expedited the negotiations for peace which resulted in the signing of the protocol and suspension of hostilities on the 13th day of August, 1898.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

Influence of orange industry in developing Florida—The disastrous blizzard of February, 1899, and its effects—Efforts to remove the capital from Tallahassee—Failure to make a change—Census of 1900—Great increase of population.

1898-1901.

PROBABLY one of the most influential factors in the rapid development of Florida in the last twenty years, was the peculiarly attractive business of orange growing. The tree itself is so beautiful in its dress of perennial glassy green; it is so productive of the golden fruit, which after maturity can remain upon the tree for a long period, and bear transportation to distant markets; it is so easily handled and so profitable, that it naturally attracted many whom the mildness of the climate would not alone have induced to become residents of Florida. Groves large and small were planted throughout the peninsula, and to their hopeful owners seemed to promise competence if not wealth in a few years.

Reference has been already made to the severe freezes of December, 1894, and February, 1895, which killed to the ground nearly all the groves, but their quick promise of revival from new growth seemed to indicate only a temporary suspension of their productiveness, and in 1898 many groves had so far recovered as to produce some fruit.

The winter of 1898-9 had nearly passed, when to the surprise and dismay of the grove owners, and of the whole State, a terrible blizzard came down from the Rocky Mountains and the cold plains of the Northwest, extending over the Gulf

States, driving out the warm air, and spreading a mantle of snow and ice over central and northern Florida, causing every orange tree, so far as it was unprotected, to perish down to the ground, except in the southern portion of the State. On February 12, 1899, the temperature went down at Jacksonville to ten degrees above zero, almost to the point to which it had fallen in 1835, sixty-four years previously. The sap was up in the trees, and the bloom had begun to form in many instances when this second great disaster came, well nigh discouraging many from any further effort at the restoration of this immensely valuable industry.

But still it was noted that the roots of the trees were for the most part uninjured, and such was the vitality of the tree, that new growth might be again anticipated, as before, which was soon realized. From the southern part of the State 250,000 boxes were sent to market in 1899-1900, and in 1900-1901 nearly a million of boxes were marketed, with a prospect of a million and a half of boxes to be marketed in 1901-2.

Judging from the past there may be expected at short intervals periods of quite low temperature, and at much longer intervals severe freezes. The injury to be expected will depend upon the condition of the trees when the temperature falls below the normal. If the fall in temperature occurs in December or January no great injury will ensue, because the trees are comparatively dormant; but if occurring in February—after the sap has begun to rise—very great injury may occur. All the destructive freezes which have occurred have been in the month of February; viz.: February 8, 1835, February 8, 1895, and February 12, 1899. But in 1856, 1870, 1880, 1886, and December, 1894, the temperature fell below twenty degrees without material injury. As an interval of sixty years passed between the destructive freezes of February 8, 1835, and February 8, 1895, it may be hoped that as long an interval may now occur before another destructive blizzard occurs. The growth from the banked-budded sprouts of the

trees frozen down in 1895 are now in the year 1901 in many instances bearing fruit. In the meantime, much attention has been given to vegetable farms, and a large trade established with Northern markets ; this promises to give Florida profitable culture of her fertile lands under very favorable conditions of climate and transportation.

In the year 1899, the subject of removal of the Capital from Tallahassee to some place in the eastern part of the State was brought forward both in the Legislature and afterwards in the State Democratic Convention, by which the initiative was to be by a primary election. The promoters of this project were residents of Jacksonville, which they desired should be made the permanent seat of government. St. Augustine and Ocala also were candidates for the location. The capital had been located at Tallahassee in 1824, where the present capitol was built by the United States, Florida being then a Territory. It was well constructed of brick, and had answered its purpose for upwards of seventy-five years—and is still a well-built, substantial building, although of too limited a capacity for the present needs of the State.

The result of the primary election was in favor of its retention at Tallahassee by a clear majority, and the Legislature, at its session of 1901, appropriated \$75,000 for its enlargement, and thus settled a long agitated question.

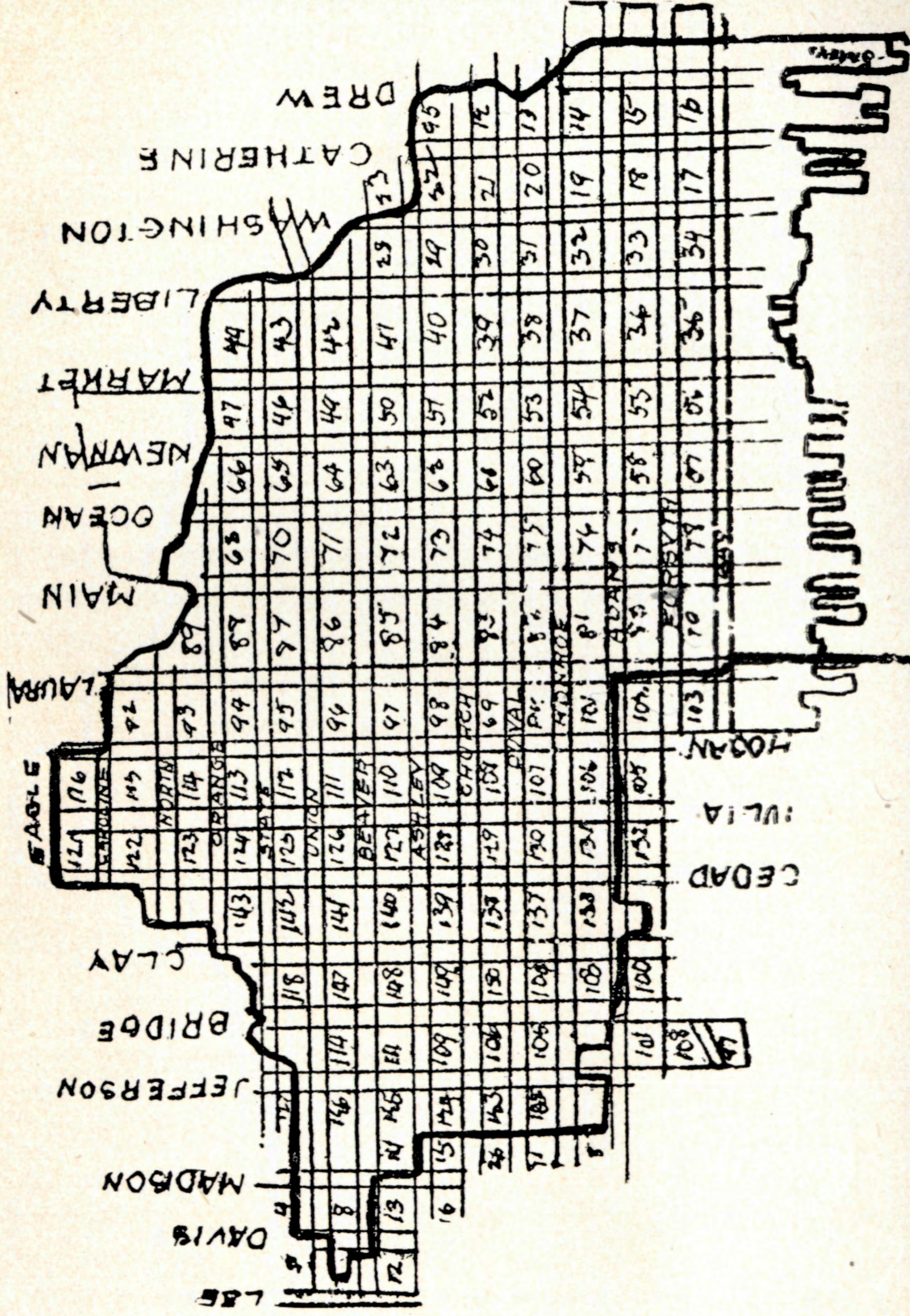
At the fall election in 1900 William S. Jennings was elected Governor. S. M. Sparkman and Robert W. Davis were elected Representatives in Congress. The vote of the State was again given to W. Jennings Bryan, the Democratic nominee for President. The Legislature was unanimously Democratic in both houses.

By the United States census of 1900, the population of Florida was shown to have increased since 1890 from 391,422 to 528,542, a gain during ten years of 137,120, being 35 per cent., and exceeding the percentage of growth of any

State East of the Mississippi during the same period ; and as less than five per cent. of the population was of foreign birth, indicating no accessions from foreign immigration, the growth may be considered remarkable.

The census of 1890 gave 225,279 as the then white population, and 166,180 as the then colored population, showing a preponderance of 60,000 of the white population. The census of 1900 gives 297,333 as the white population, an increase of 137,120, and of colored population of 231,207, an increase of 65,027, but leaving a preponderance of 66,000 to the white population, making the number of whites $56\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. and of colored $43\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., which is a healthy proportion for a climate where most of the labor is best performed by the colored race. Three hundred and fifty-eight Indians were found in the State, and 120 Chinese. The increase of population added a third Representative in Congress.

OFFICIAL MAP OF THE BURNT DISTRICT.



The district within the black lines burned, including the river docks between Drew and Laura streets.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

The Burning of the City of Jacksonville.

1901.

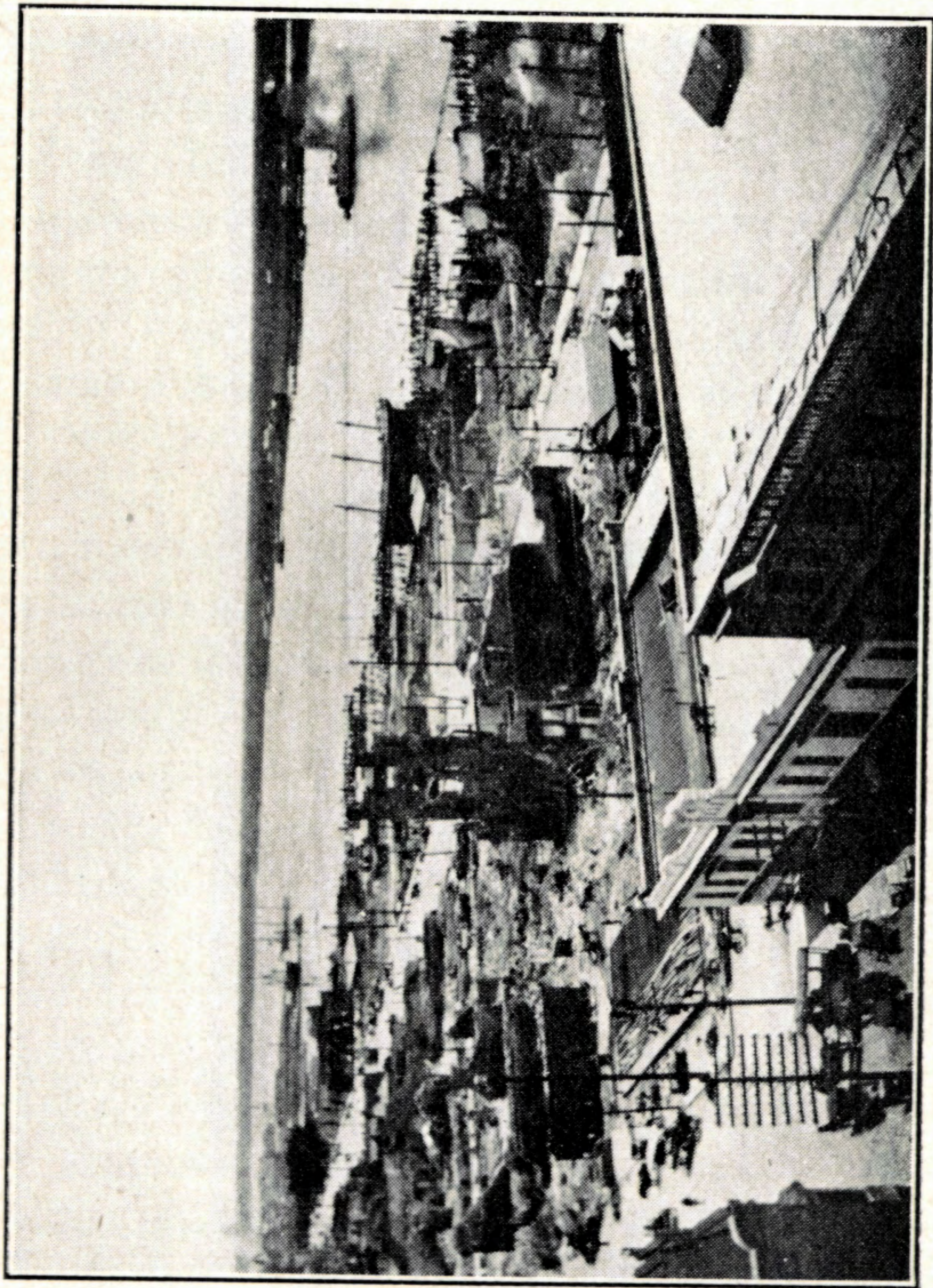
JACKSONVILLE dates back to the change of flags in 1821, and received its name in compliment to General Andrew Jackson, the first Governor of the Territory of Florida after it became a part of the United States. It was known previously as Cowford, owing to the narrowness of the St. Johns River at this point, with a good landing place on either bank—making it a convenient place for crossing cattle from the interior to St. Augustine.

The cattle were driven into the river, and, with much cracking of whips and shouts from men in boats, were forced to swim across to the opposite shore, a distance of nearly one mile. The County of Duval was one of the first counties created, and bears the name of Florida's second governor.

A small settlement at the Cowford became the nucleus of the village of Jacksonville, which attained to some growth during the Seminole War, and progressed moderately up to the time of the Civil War, when it had become a place of some importance. Occupied several times during the Civil War by the Federal armies, its inhabitants refugeeing largely into the interior, it was finally partially burned by the Federal troops, under or without orders, upon the evacuation of Jacksonville by the Federal forces in 1865. Of course these four years of war were detrimental to the growth of the town, but imme-

diately after the close of hostilities, great business activity prevailed. Cotton was brought in from the interior, and merchandise from the North. From that period onwards it grew apace. Northern capital was invested in business blocks, enterprises, and residences, and it gradually assumed the importance and appearance of a thriving city; large hotels were built to attract tourists; railway communication by new roads was extended both in the State and to adjoining States. The lumber business, orange growing, and vegetable products, etc., were concentrated at this place for shipment, and many branches of business grew into large proportions. From time to time some serious drawbacks occurred. Buildings destroyed by fire were soon replaced by larger and better structures, and eighty years from its first occupation it had attained a population of 27,000, and was the largest city in the State, carrying on a very active and increasing business, with numerous large hotels, handsome churches, and fine public buildings. Electric lights, trolley cars, an extensive system of water-works, telephone plants, etc., had been established. Its fire department was regarded as so excellent in all respects that, in connection with the abundant water supply, the probability of any considerable loss by fire was regarded as unlikely. For these reasons a comparatively small proportion of insurance was carried throughout the city. No cloud of adversity in any quarter seemed likely to menace the growing city; all seemed secure. Its streets thronged with business, its handsome residences, surrounded with shade trees, shrubbery, and flowers, the abode of peace and comfort. No warning of disaster came until just after midday on Friday, May 3, 1901—a memorable day in the history of Jacksonville.

On that dreadful Black Friday, at half-past twelve, the fire alarm sounded long and shrill, a well-recognized sound, giving no cause for any feeling of unusual anxiety; only a moderate breeze from the west was blowing, and as the



AFTER THE FIRE.

From corner of Laura and Forsyth, looking south and east.

alarm came from the northwesterly direction in a suburban portion of the city, it was supposed the Fire Department would, as usual, soon extinguish the fire, which did not at first appear to be of much importance.

The fire originated in a fibre factory where fibre had been spread out to dry upon a large platform. Sparks from some neighboring chimney dropped into this mass of fibre and soon ignited so much of it that the effort to extinguish it was unavailing, and the factory itself, containing a large quantity of combustible materials, was in flames. The diagram indicates the point where the fire started. In the beginning the flames were confined to a few houses in the neighborhood of the Cleveland factory, but the heat from these added force to the westerly wind and carried blazing material eastward over the large area of residences covered with shingle roofs, which rapidly took fire, and assisted in turn in wafting the blazing shingles, bedding, and other light stuff over more distant points. As buildings were consumed, constructed mainly of Southern pine, the heat became intense, and not even brick walls and slated roofs protected their interiors. The Fire Department, called in different directions, was unable to check the onward progress of the flames, which soon became altogether uncontrollable. Moving along eastward from the point where it started, it progressed more rapidly in that direction beyond Hemming Park, but at the same time was reaching north and south, to Hogan's Creek on the north and the river on the south, embracing Bay and Forsyth streets and the public buildings, until finally checked at Laura Street; the buildings on Forsyth and Bay, west of Laura Street, and along the river escaping destruction. The marsh land along Hogan's Creek and strong efforts prevented the fire crossing Hogan's Creek and saved the eastern portion of the city. The progress of the fire was at last overcome at 7.30 p.m., having raged for seven hours. Fire companies from St. Augustine,

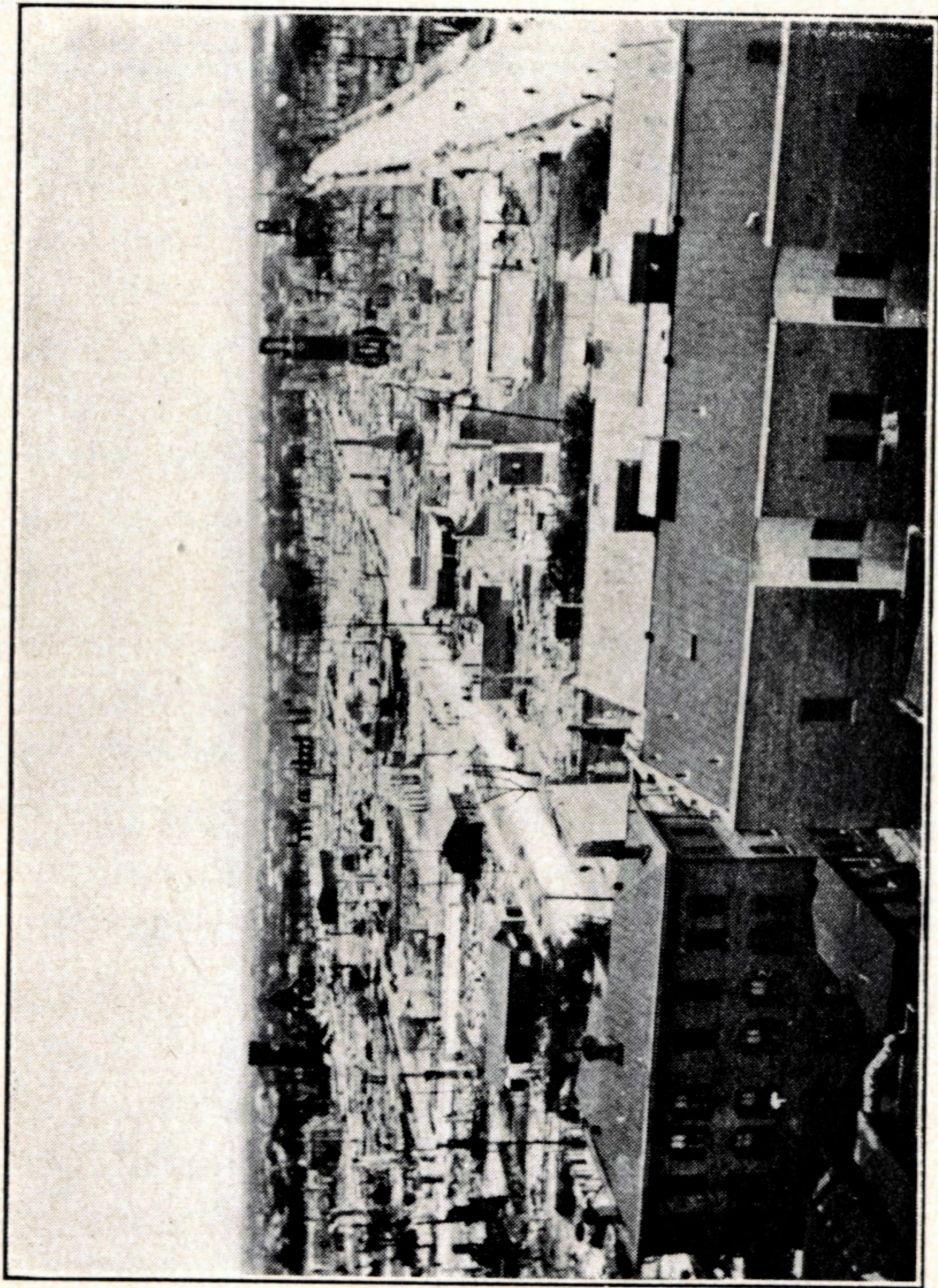
Fernandina, and Savannah arrived during the progress of the conflagration and were of material assistance in preventing the further progress of the fire.

The fire swept over a distance from west to east of about one and three-quarter miles, with a width of over half a mile. One hundred and forty-eight squares were burned. About nine thousand people were rendered homeless through the destruction of sixteen hundred buildings. The estimated total loss has been generally placed at ten millions of dollars, with an insurance of about four millions. The insurance companies with commendable promptness adjusted and paid all claims. The terrible calamity which had visited the chief city of the State called forth sympathy and pecuniary aid from all portions of the country to relieve the unfortunate sufferers.

A Relief Committee of leading citizens was promptly organized, temporary shelters provided, with food and clothing to the most needy, labor gangs employed to give work to the able-bodied; several hundred sewing machines were given to poor women, and tools to mechanics to enable them to rehabilitate themselves.

Fully realizing the great calamity which had befallen them, the courage of the people rose to the occasion, and, as soon as possible, the work of rebuilding was undertaken in all quarters, and at no distant period Jacksonville will be restored to more than its former beauty and prosperity.

As we speak of the period before and since the Civil War, so the people of Jacksonville will speak of what occurred before and since the great conflagration which has marked the most important event in their history. The diagram and views, taken immediately after the fire, will illustrate and commemorate this great calamity.



AFTER THE FIRE.

From corner of Laura and Forsyth, looking north and east.

CHAPTER XXXIX

The rebuilding of Jacksonville after its great conflagration—Enlargement of the old Capitol Building at Tallahassee—Great development of the lumber and naval stores business—Continued progress in restoration of the orange groves—Increasing output from truck farming.

THERE has probably never been in this country or anywhere else such a remarkable rebuilding of a burnt city as has been shown in the instance of Jacksonville. When it is remembered that the conflagration destroyed the larger portion of the best business and residence districts, and embraced the most costly business blocks and finest residences and churches, devastating not the suburbs but the central portion of the city, spreading over an area one and a half miles in length and upwards of half a mile in width, the magnitude of the task on the part of a city of thirty thousand inhabitants, half colored, of rebuilding so large a portion of its territory can be appreciated.

But the ashes had hardly grown cold before the work of rebuilding began. The heroic energy of those who showed their faith in the city's future, by planning larger and better structures than those destroyed, operated to inspire others with a like determination. Business was resumed by the larger business houses in improvised sheds, new stocks of goods were ordered by the merchants, the banks opened up in temporary quarters, Sunday services were resumed in make-shift places and everything was done to maintain order and restore confidence.

Contracts for rebuilding were speedily made and employment given to thousands of mechanics and laborers, who were

thus relieved from distress. Within two and a half years from the destruction of so large a part of the city the streets were built up in a style of architecture and on a scale vastly superior to their former appearance. Over three thousand buildings went up, as it were, by magic and were occupied. A number of beautiful churches arose on their former sites, hotels were rebuilt, and at the close of 1903 hardly a sign of the great conflagration of May 3, 1901, remained to indicate the occurrence so recently of so great a calamity.

Whatever credit may be justly given to the energy and enterprise of Northern or Western towns and cities in overcoming the disasters of fire and flood, the rebuilding of Jacksonville may well vie with the proudest achievements of any civic community elsewhere.

Among the more notable improvements in the State of a public character may be mentioned the enlargement and making over of the old Capitol Building at Tallahassee in the year 1902, and first occupied in its improved condition by the Legislature of 1903. The old Capitol dates back to the year 1826, when it was built by the Federal Government for the Territorial Government. The population of the Territory then was less than fifty thousand and was nearly all confined to the northern border. The building erected by the United States Government was in every way very respectable for the times—in size, proportion, material and construction. The location at Tallahassee was central to the then settled portion of the Territory and was so well constructed that there was no difficulty in 1902, seventy-six years afterwards, in adding to and remodeling the interior without disturbing its solid walls. The Capitol has answered the needs and requirements of Territory and State during all these years, until the growth of the business connected with the State departments required its enlargement, which has been effected with much architectural skill and at a very moderate cost. Generations have passed away, conven-

tions for secession and reconstruction and revision have been held within its walls; in it the Presidency of the United States has been determined by the canvassing of the vote of Florida and it bids fair to continue the Capitol for many years to come.

The lumber business, owing to the vast extent of its forests of pitch pine, had been for many years a considerable and somewhat profitable industry, but was at first confined to the vicinity of navigable rivers or sea-ports. With the extension of railways into the interior, mills were built in their vicinity, tramways and log roads were constructed to bring timber to the mills and connect with the railroads by spurs and branch roads. In 1901, 1902 and 1903 a notable advance was made in the lumber business in all portions of Florida, mills of large capacity were constructed with new and improved machinery and the output was immensely increased. The exhaustion of the pine forests in the North and West caused many concerns engaged in this business there to come south and seek in Florida new locations for their business, and large purchases of timber lands were made, mills, and in some instances railways, built to facilitate their business. Great activity was stimulated in all departments of the lumber business. Cypress timber and hard-woods which had not before engaged the attention of mill men now became in demand at a profitable price for shipment to the North, where they take the place of other woods. The demand for cross-ties for renewal of railway tracks or for new railroads induced numbers of firms and individuals to embark in the cross-tie business, gathering ties from all the pine forests and shipping them in cargoes from accessible sea-ports.

These various departments of the lumber industry brought to the State, capital, remunerative employment, new population and a large accession to its money resources, benefiting alike capital, labor and commerce. In connection with forest products the naval stores business is closely associated. For

many years this industry was mainly confined to Southern Virginia and North Carolina. As those districts were worked out the operators moved southward into South Carolina and Georgia. During the years 1901-2-3 the price of naval stores advanced materially and the virgin forests of Florida were bought up in large bodies. Turpentine camps were established all through the State and the manufacture of naval stores became one of the important industries and seems likely to remain so for a long period. Very large cargoes are exported from Jacksonville, Fernandina, Tampa and other ports.

The State convicts are hired out to contractors at a specified sum per year for each convict and are employed in phosphate mining and turpentine camps, superseding the former penitentiary system of close confinement and partial employment in mechanical work. The amount received from the hire of convicts partially reimburses the State for the cost of criminal prosecutions, and the system is upheld upon that and other grounds. The largest percentage of the convicts are negroes, who make the most reliable laborers. Good treatment is provided for in the contracts for their hire, and frequent inspection by the State authorities is made. Work in the open air is more conducive to health than close confinement in prison walls.

The State received from the hire of State convicts from January 1 to December 31, 1902, the sum of \$138,588.75, being a very large increase over previous years.

The recovery of the orange groves from the disastrous freezes of 1895-9 has been already referred to in a former edition of this work. This recuperation has now reached the central portion of the orange belt. In the lower part of the State the trees have regained very largely their former condition, while many new groves have been set out. In the central and northern portion of the orange belt the restoration has been less rapid, but during the years 1901-3 the trees have grown very

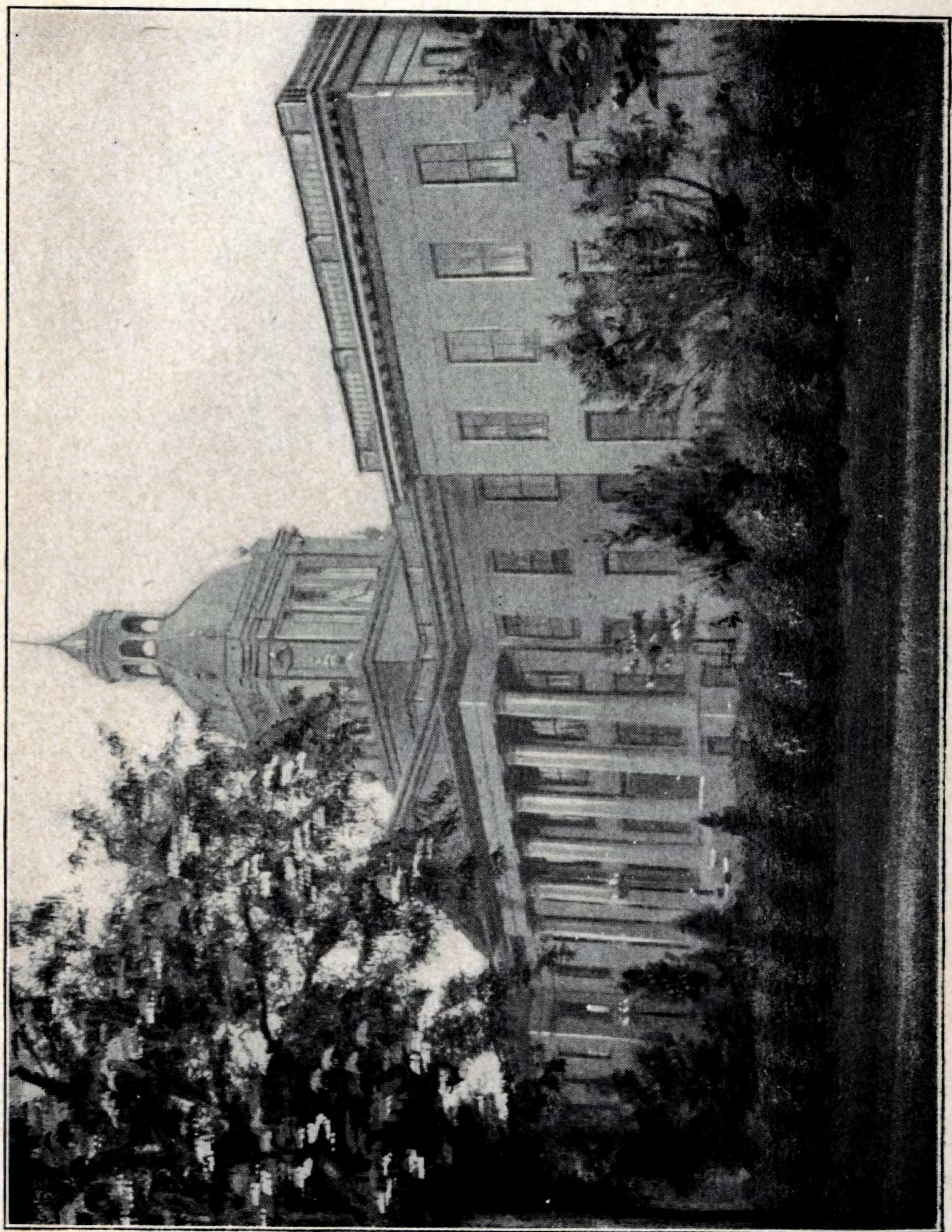
satisfactorily and considerable crops have been gathered from the trees which have grown up from the budded root sprouts since 1895 and 1899, and there is a fair prospect of complete restoration within a few years and a well-founded expectation that the perseverance and labor of the orange-growers will be rewarded. With the restoration of the orange, there is now a tendency to expand the cultivation of the grape-fruit, botanically called the pomelo, which has become popularized in recent years at the North, although previously not regarded other than as an ornamental prodigy of the citrus family. The area of orange culture has also been extended northward in the State by the introduction of hardier species budded upon the trifoliata, a hardy but inedible species from Japan, while the extension of the railway facilities into the more southern portions of the peninsula has carried this industry into a much larger, and to some extent safer, portion of the State so far as danger from cold is concerned.

As a matter of reference the following table of the orange crop of Florida from 1884 to 1903 is appended. The crop of 1903-4 is estimated at 1,200,000 to 1,500,000 boxes. The crop was injured by the last storm.

1884-85.....	600,000
1885-86.....	900,000
1886-87.....	1,260,000
1887-88.....	1,450,000
1888-89.....	1,950,000
1889-90.....	2,150,000
1890-91.....	2,450,000
1891-92.....	3,761,000
1892-93.....	3,450,000
1893-94.....	5,500,000
1894-95.....	6,000,000
1895-96.....	75,000
1896-97.....	100,000
1897-98.....	150,000
1898-99.....	200,000

1899-1900.....	350,000
1900-01.....	1,000,000
1901-02.....	1,250,000
1902-03.....	750,000

Among the other industries of the State of considerable importance are the fish, oyster and sponge fisheries.



THE STATE CAPITOL AS ENLARGED IN 1902

CHAPTER XL

Florida's Governors, Delegates to Congress, Representatives and Senators, 1821-1904.

As a part of the political history of the State it may be of interest to present in a compact form the succession of Governors, Delegates to Congress, and Senators and Representatives since Florida became a part of the United States, and brief notices respecting them to facilitate reference and not to occupy space devoted to current events.

A list of the Governors who have held office from 1821 to 1904:

Gen. Andrew Jackson.....	Military	Governor.....	1821
Wm. P. Duval.....	Territorial	"	1822-34
John W. Eaton.....	"	"	1834
R. K. Call.....	"	"	1835
R. K. Reid.....	"	"	1839
R. K. Call.....	"	"	1840
John Branch.....	"	"	1842-45
W. D. Mosely.....	State	"	1845
Thomas Brown.....	"	"	1850
J. E. Broome.....	"	"	1853-57
M. S. Perry.....	"	"	1857-61
John Milton.....	"	"	1861-65
A. K. Allison.....	Lieutenant	"	1865
W. Marvin.....	Provisional	"	1865
D. S. Walker.....		"	1866-68
Harrison Reed.....		"	1867
Ossian B. Hart.....		"	1873-74
M. L. Stearns.....	Lieutenant	"	1874-77

Geo. F. Drew.....	Lieutenant Governor.....	1877-81
W. D. Bloxham	“	1881-85
E. S. Perry.....	“	1885-89
Francis P. Fleming	“	1889-93
H. L. Mitchell.....	“	1893-97
W. D. Bloxham.....	“	1897-1901
W. S. Jennings	“	1901-05

Florida was ceded by Spain to the United States by treaty in 1819 and taken possession of in July, 1821.

The first Delegate sent to Congress from Florida was Joseph M. Hernandez, who was a native of St. Augustine, serving in the 17th Congress from January, 1821, to March, 1821. He was a member of the Territorial Legislature and presided over that body. He was appointed Brigadier-General of Volunteers during the Florida War and died in Cuba in 1857. He was one of the most prominent citizens of the Territory and was a wealthy planter in St. John's County.

Richard K. Call served as Delegate in Congress from Florida from 1822 to 1825; he was connected with General Jackson's Military staff, as officer of Volunteers; settled in Florida, was Governor of the Territory and a citizen of much distinction in Territorial days.

Joseph M. White was elected Delegate and served in the 19th, 20th, 21st, 22d, 23d and 24th Congress. He was a native of Kentucky, well educated, a lawyer of distinction and author of White's Recopilacion, a valuable work on Spanish law. He was a man of high reputation and much appreciated during his long service in Congress. He died in 1839.

Charles Downing was elected to the 25th Congress and re-elected to the 26th. He died in October, 1841.

David Levy, afterwards known as David Levy Yulee, was born in St. Thomas, W. I., in 1811, educated in Virginia, came to Florida with his father in 1824, was elected to the 27th Congress as Territorial Delegate, having previously served in

the Territorial Legislature. He was a member of the constitutional convention in 1838, and served as Territorial Delegate until March, 1845, when he was instrumental in securing the admission of Florida as a State, twenty-four years after its becoming a Territory of the United States. He added the name of Yulee to his name in 1845, being the name of his grandfather. He was elected Senator in 1845, and held that office until 1851. He was again elected in 1857 and held the office until 1861, when he resigned and returned to Florida. In 1865 he was confined in Fort Pulaski as a prisoner of State. Released in 1866, he devoted himself to restoring the Florida Railroad and died in 1886 at the age of seventy-five.

E. Carrington Cabell was elected to Congress in 1845, but was supplanted by W. H. Brockenborough. Cabell was elected to the 30th, 31st and 32d Congress.

Augustus E. Maxwell was elected to the 33d Congress and reelected to the 34th Congress. He died in May, 1903.

George S. Hawkins was elected to the 35th and 36th Congress and resigned at the breaking out of the Civil War.

James D. Westcott, born in Virginia in 1802, was elected Senator in 1845, and served as such until 1849. He was Secretary of the Territory in 1830 to 1834. A member of the Territorial Legislature and member of the First Constitutional Convention.

Jackson Morton, of Pensacola, was elected Senator in 1849 and served until 1855.

Stephen R. Mallory was elected Senator in 1851 and served until 1857. Was reelected in 1857 and served until 1861, when he withdrew. Was made Secretary of the Navy in the Confederate States by President Davis. Was imprisoned in 1865 in Fort Lafayette on a charge of treason and soon released. Died in Pensacola in 1873.

This completes the list of Representatives and Senators in Congress up to the time of the War between the States.

Both the Senators and the Representatives in the United States Congress representing Florida withdrew from that body in 1861. Florida had no representation in either house until June, 1868, a period of seven years. The Legislature in June, 1868, elected Thomas W. Osborne and Adonijah Welch as Senators, both Republicans. T. W. Osborne was a native of New Jersey, domiciled afterwards in Wilna, Jefferson Co., N. Y. He entered the Union Army as Captain, rose to the rank of Colonel and Chief of Artillery in the Army of Tennessee. Practised law in Tallahassee, Fla., held the office of Assistant Commr. of the Freedman's Bureau in Florida and Register in Bankruptcy, was a Member of the body which framed the Constitution in 1868, and held the office of Senator from Florida to March 3, 1873.

A. S. Welch, Republican, was a native of Connecticut, educated at the University of Michigan, was a teacher for several years; came to Florida in 1865, settled at Jacksonville and held the office of U. S. Senator from July, 1868, to March 3, 1869.

Abijah Gilbert, Republican, succeeded A. S. Welch, being elected to hold that position from March 4, 1869, to March 3, 1875. He was a native of the State of New York, was a successful merchant and came to Florida for the health of his family, making his home at St Augustine.

Charles M. Hamilton, Republican, was a native of Pennsylvania; served in the Union Army, came to Florida after the War, was appointed Assistant Commissioner of the Freedman's Bureau and elected as a Member of the House of Representatives to the 40th and 41st Congress, holding office from 1868 to 1871.

Josiah T. Walls, colored, was nominated to succeed Hamilton in 1870. His seat was contested by Silas L. Niblack, Democrat, of Columbia County, who was awarded the seat.

After 1870 Florida was allowed two members of Congress.

Josiah T. Walls, Republican, colored, was elected in 1872 for

the Eastern District and W. J. Purman for the Western District. Walls had been a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1868 and a Member of the Legislature.

W. J. Purman, Republican, was a native of Pennsylvania, served in the Union Army and after the war came to Florida. Was a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1868. Was a Member of the Legislature in 1868, Secretary of State in 1868. Judge of Jackson County 1868, 1869. Elected to the 43d and 44th Congress and defeated as a candidate for the 45th Congress by R. H. M. Davidson.

Simon B. Conover, Republican, was a native of New Jersey. A member of the medical profession, succeeded Thos. W. Osborne in 1873. He was an assistant surgeon in the Army of the Cumberland. Resigned in 1866 and located in Florida. He was a member of the Constitutional Convention; was appointed State Treasurer, was elected a member of the lower house of the State Legislature and chosen Speaker, and elected U. S. Senator in 1873, which office he held until 1879.

Charles W. Jones, Democrat, was born in Ireland and came to this country while a youth. Was the son of a surgeon in the British Army. Settled in West Florida, and pursued his trade as a carpenter. Rose by his own exertions to a prominent position in Pensacola, was elected to the Legislature and succeeded Abijah Gilbert in 1875 as U. S. Senator. In the Senate he made his mark as a Constitutional Lawyer and was reëlected in 1882. His health subsequently failed and he died in Michigan in 1887.

Wilkinson Call, Democrat, spent his earlier years in Tallahassee; was elected U. S. Senator in 1865 but was not permitted to take his seat. Succeeded Simon B. Conover as Senator in 1879, which office he held until 1897.

Samuel Pasco, Democrat, resided in Jefferson County, Florida; was prominent in political matters for many years and succeeded Charles W. Jones as U. S. Senator, which office he

held until 1898. He was subsequently appointed a Commissioner on the Inter-Ocean Canal by President McKinley.

✓ Stephen R. Mallory, Democrat, son of former Senator Mallory and Secretary of Navy in the Confederacy. Mr. Mallory had been several times a Member of the Legislature and is a man of recognized ability. He was elected in 1897 to succeed Wilkinson Call and reëlected in 1903. His residence has been at Pensacola for a long period.

✓ James P. Talliaferro, Democrat, was elected in 1898, succeeding Samuel Pasco. Senator Talliaferro is a Virginian by birth and has been a resident of Florida for many years. He has been engaged in business pursuits, never having previously held office. He has, with his associates in Congress, very successfully advanced the interests of Florida.

In the lower branch of Congress, West Florida, the 1st District, has always been represented by members of the Democratic party since the election of R. H. M. Davidson.

In the 2d District Horatio Bisbee was elected and his seat contested.

Stephen R. Mallory was a Representative in Congress for the 1st District and since his election as Senator, ✓ Stephen M. Sparkman, of Tampa, has represented the district.

In the 2d District, Horatio Bisbee, Republican, was elected, succeeding Walls, and was succeeded successively by Charles Dougherty, Robert Bullock, Chas. M. Cooper and ✓ Robert W. Davis.

As representative of the 3d District, made in 1902, ✓ William B. Lamar was elected.

CHAPTER XLI

The Indian War Claim recovered by the State—History of the claim, amounting to over one million of dollars—Extensive improvements to the harbor entrances; new railways, etc.

1901, 1902, 1903

THROUGH the efforts of the Senators and Representatives of this State in Congress the so-called Indian War Claim, being the claim of the State for advances made and expenses incurred in suppressing Indian hostilities in 1857, was finally adjusted by Act of Congress passed May 27, 1902. The history of this claim, originating in 1857, and only finally settled in 1902, after a lapse of forty-five years, is an interesting illustration of the difficulty attending the adjustment of claims against the General Government.

An outbreak of the Indians in the lower part of the State having occurred in 1857, the Government at Washington was notified of the necessity of sending troops to quell the outbreak. The military authorities not being then prepared to send troops, the Governor was requested to call out State troops for the purpose, which was speedily done, and the outbreak quelled. To meet these expenses the Governor borrowed money from banks, and obtained from the Indian Trust Fund \$132,000 upon the bonds of the State. The war between the States came on before any adjustment or reimbursement was made. There was no State Government recognized by the United States from 1860 until 1868, and from 1868 to 1896

the functions of the State Government were in the hands of the self-constituted reconstruction party, mostly newcomers and Washington appointees, who probably neither knew nor cared for the settlement of this old claim.

When Governor Geo. F. Drew, the first Democratic Governor, came into office in 1897, he investigated the claim, then twenty years old, and made a contract with S. I. Wailes, a Washington claim agent, to undertake the adjustment and recognition of the State's claim by the General Government at an agreed compensation of 15 per cent., Wailes paying all the expense. Mr. Wailes associated with him in this work Col. W. K. Beard of Tallahassee. Investigation was made, the old pay rolls and vouchers of expenditures by the State were, with difficulty, after the vicissitudes of war and change, hunted up and the authority of Congress obtained for a reference to the War and Treasury Departments for examination and report. After years of continuous effort by the agents, the Treasury Department reported in 1889 that an amount would be due to the State on January 1, 1890, of \$567,954.50, after deducting the \$132,000 borrowed from the Indian Trust Fund and interest. Interest was allowed on both sides of the account. From 1890 to 1902, a period of twelve years, bills were introduced by Senators or Representatives of Florida for the payment of this acknowledged and adjusted claim, and were passed either in one house or the other, but not at any one session by both houses, until 1902, when a bill was passed, on May 27th, making provision and appropriation for the settlement of the claim. As originally made, the claim of the State against the Federal Government was established for \$261,931.31 and the claim of the Government as an offset was for \$132,000 for bonds of the State invested in the Indian Trust Fund, leaving only a difference of \$129,931.31, or as claimed \$92,000; but inasmuch as the Government claimed interest at the rate of seven per cent. upon the bonds of the

State held by the Indian Trust Fund, equity required that a similar allowance of interest should be made by the Government on the State's claim. The result of this statement of accounts between the State of Florida and the Government was an allowance to the State of One million and seventy-five thousand nine hundred and ten $\frac{66}{100}$ (\$1,075,910.66) dollars and a claim of the Government on account of the \$132,000 of bonds and interest of \$396,212.66 to be deducted, leaving a balance due to the State of Florida of \$679,698.66 to which **was** added \$13,248.00, and there was paid over to the State by the Treasurer of the United States a total sum of Six hundred and ninety-two thousand nine hundred and forty-six (\$692,946.00) dollars as the result of this long-neglected and protracted claim of the State against the Government, growing from \$129,931.31 or \$92,000.00 by accretion of interest to nearly Seven hundred thousand dollars, besides taking up \$132,000 of its bonds held by the Government.

The reception of this fund, almost unexpectedly, in the Treasury of the State, stimulated the public and legislators to indicate the mode of its expenditure. It was suggested that it be applied to better the highways, to education, to agriculture, and the extinction of the State debt. The Legislature of 1903 finally, after appropriating a considerable amount of it, claimed to be due the School Fund, directed the balance not otherwise appropriated to be used in the extinction of the State debt. This debt was nominally about one million of dollars. Out of this amount only about \$150,000.00 was held by individuals, the balance having been purchased and placed to the credit of various State funds. The State has virtually now no outstanding indebtedness and is probably in a better financial condition than ever before or than any other State in the Union. Very considerable appropriations were made in 1903 to various State institutions. There is a State School Fund amounting to over \$800,000 and a Seminary Fund of about

\$100,000; also a large pension tax fund for survivors and widows of Confederate soldiers.

The Agricultural College at Lake City became, by Act of the Legislature, the University of Florida, and by the act of its trustees was confined to the education of male students, having been previously open to both sexes.

The work of the Government in improving and deepening the entrances to the Florida harbors made great advance during the years 1900, 1901, 1902 and 1903. The entrance to Cumberland Sound, the harbor of Fernandina, by means of jetties and dredging operations, attained during the year 1903 a high-water depth of thirty feet, with a mean low-water depth on the bar of twenty-four feet with a tidal rise of six feet. The bar at the entrance of the St. John's River and Jacksonville was increased to a depth of twenty feet and upwards at high water and work is still going on. At Tampa very considerable progress was made in opening a deep-water channel to that city. Pensacola's Navy Yard, which since the Civil War had been practically neglected, had been again reoccupied.

A railroad has already been built from Bainbridge, Georgia, to Tallahassee and work projected to reach St. Andrew's Bay by rail. The East Coast railroad has been extended south of Miami and the Seaboard Air Line has built a branch to Sarasota. A railroad has also been constructed from Live Oak to Perry in Lafayette County. The Southern Railroad has made a connection of its lines with Jacksonville by the Atlantic Coast Line, and the Atlantic Coast Line has built a branch from Jesup to Folkston, thus shortening its line to Florida.

The development of Florida has been retarded by the frequent changes of government, its unprogressive population in Spanish times, its almost entire change of population in the transfer to England and retransfer to Spain, and the final

transfer to the United States, since which it has borne the burden of two long wars.

Situated in a mild semi-tropical climate, favored by its peninsular formation, its lands readily responding to cultivation which may be carried through the whole year, its shores abounding in the harvest of the sea, with an abundant supply of pure water near the surface and in subterranean reservoirs reached by artesian wells; well supplied with transportation facilities by rail, river and sea; with varied and valuable productions belonging to temperate and tropical climes; possessing vast deposits of phosphate to maintain and enrich her own soil, and for profitable export to other portions of the United States and foreign lands; with an immense supply of the most valuable descriptions of timber—Florida promises to become in time one of the most densely populated and prosperous States of the American Union.

The tables in the following pages present statistics of the increase of population during the several decades from 1830 to 1900.

Although so very considerable it was no doubt greatly checked by the Florida War from 1835 to 1842, the war between the States 1862 to 1865, and by the disastrous freezes of the years 1894-95 and 1899, when nearly the whole orange-growing industry of the State was destroyed, discouraging its citizens by unanticipated disaster and removing temporarily one of its strongest attractions for newcomers.

Tables are also given showing the enumeration of the white and colored population of Florida as exhibited by the census tables for 1890 and 1900. A table is also presented giving the population of cities and towns in Florida as shown by the census of A. D. 1900.

The population of Florida as shown by the official census taken by the United States was

In the year 1830	34,739
“ “ “ 1840	54,477
“ “ “ 1850	87,445
“ “ “ 1860	140,424
“ “ “ 1870	187,748
“ “ “ 1880	269,433
“ “ “ 1890	391,422
“ “ “ 1900	528,542

The census of 1910 should show a population of 700,000.

ENUMERATION OF THE WHITE AND COLORED POPULATION OF
FLORIDA, AS EXHIBITED BY THE CENSUS TABLES FOR
1890 AND 1900.

COUNTIES.	CENSUS OF 1900.			CENSUS OF 1890.		
	White.	Colored.	Total.	White.	Colored.	Total.
Alachua.....	13,279	18,966	32,245	9,674	13,260	22,934
Baker.....	3,325	1,191	4,516	2,588	745	3,333
Bradford.....	7,568	2,727	10,295	5,961	1,555	7,516
Brevard.....	4,003	1,158	5,158	2,896	541	3,401
Calhoun.....	3,092	2,040	5,132	1,132	549	1,681
Citrus.....	2,754	2,637	5,391	2,090	304	2,394
Clay.....	3,803	1,832	5,635	3,633	1,521	5,154
Columbia.....	7,771	9,321	17,092	6,393	6,484	12,877
Dade.....	3,548	1,407	4,955	774	87	861
De Soto.....	7,374	673	8,047	4,805	139	4,044
Duval.....	17,276	22,457	39,733	11,998	14,802	26,800
Escambia.....	16,384	11,924	28,313	11,482	8,706	20,188
Franklin.....	2,648	2,242	4,890	1,950	1,358	3,308
Gadsden.....	5,438	9,856	15,274	4,446	7,448	11,891
Hamilton.....	6,505	5,376	11,881	3,337	3,170	8,507
Hernando.....	1,823	1,815	3,605	1,584	892	2,476
Hillsboro.....	27,528	8,485	36,013	12,021	2,917	14,941
Holmes.....	6,481	1,281	7,762	4,152	184	4,336
Jackson.....	11,087	12,280	23,337	6,333	11,211	17,544
Jefferson.....	3,575	12,620	16,195	3,558	12,199	15,757
La Fayette.....	4,224	763	4,987	3,447	239	3,686
Lake.....	4,829	2,638	7,467	6,190	1,844	8,034
Lee.....	2,743	334	3,077	1,334	80	1,414
Leon.....	3,886	16,001	19,887	3,121	14,681	17,752
Levy.....	5,321	3,282	8,603	4,457	2,120	6,586
Liberty.....	1,459	1,497	2,956	818	634	1,452
Madison.....	6,542	8,904	15,446	5,556	8,760	14,316
Manatee.....	4,205	458	4,663	2,714	181	8,895
Marion.....	9,356	15,047	24,403	9,311	11,485	20,796
Monroe.....	12,192	5,814	18,006	12,851	5,935	18,786
Nassau.....	4,559	5,095	9,654	3,956	4,338	8,294
Orange.....	7,347	4,027	11,374	9,048	3,536	12,584
Osceola.....	3,013	431	3,444	2,657	476	3,133
Pasco.....	4,375	1,679	6,054	3,873	376	4,249
Polk.....	9,523	2,944	12,467	7,121	784	7,905
Putnam.....	6,017	5,624	11,641	6,408	4,778	11,186
St. Johns.....	5,540	3,625	9,165	5,517	3,195	8,712
Santa Rosa.....	7,827	2,466	10,293	5,769	2,192	7,961
Sumter.....	3,907	2,260	6,187	3,865	1,498	5,363
Suwanee.....	7,977	6,577	14,554	5,581	4,943	10,524
Taylor.....	3,561	438	3,999	1,971	151	2,122
Volusia.....	6,538	3,465	10,003	6,005	2,462	8,647
Wakulla.....	2,359	2,790	5,149	1,738	1,379	3,117
Walton.....	7,307	2,039	9,346	4,073	743	4,816
Washington.....	7,468	2,686	10,154	5,087	1,339	6,426

POPULATION OF CITIES AND TOWNS BY THE UNITED
STATES CENSUS OF 1900.

NAME OF CITY OR TOWN.	COUNTY.	POPULATION.	NAME OF CITY OR TOWN.	COUNTY.	POPULATION.
Alachua	Alachua.....	1,024	Live Oak	Suwanee	1,659
Arcadia.....	De Soto.....	800	Micanopy.....	Alachua.....	645
Altoona.....	Lake.....	504	Melbourne.....	Brevard.....	281
Avon Park.....	De Soto.....	225	Marianna.....	Jackson.....	900
Apalachicola.....	Franklin.....	3,077	Monticello.....	Jefferson.....	1,076
Bowling Green.....	De Soto.....	440	Madison.....	Madison.....	849
Brooksville	Hernando.....	641	Manatee.....	Manatee.....	480
Bronson	Levy.....	860	Miami.....	Dade.....	1,580
Braidentown.....	Manatee.....	900	Milton	Santa Rosa...	1,204
Bartow	Polk.....	1,983	New Smyrna.....	Volusia.....	543
Carabelle	Franklin.....	923	Orlando.....	Orange	2,481
Cedar Key	Levy.....	739	Ocala.....	Marion.....	3,380
Citra.....	Marion.....	322	Orange City.....	Volusia.....	365
Crescent City	Putnam.....	352	Ormond.....	Volusia	594
Chipley.....	Washington...	652	Oxford	Sumter.....	1,097
Daytona	Volusia.....	1,690	Palm Beach.....	Dade.....	825
Dade City.....	Pasco.....	509	Pensacola	Escambia	17,477
De Land.....	Volusia	1,445	Plant City.....	Hillsboro.....	720
De Funiak Springs..	Walton	1,661	Punta Gorda	Dade.....	860
Dunellen.....	Marion.....	700	Palmetto	Manatee.....	569
Eustis	Lake.....	411	Palatka.....	Putnam	3,301
Eucheanna.....	Walton.....	610	Quincy	Gadsden.....	847
Fort Ogden.....	De Soto.....	490	Rockledge.....	Brevard	660
Fort White	Columbia.....	600	Starke.....	Bradford.....	972
Fort Myers	Lee	943	St. Petersburg...	Hillsboro.....	1,575
Fort Meade.....	Polk.....	261	Sanford.....	Orange.....	1,450
Fernandina.....	Nassau.....	3,600	St. Augustine.....	St. Johns.....	4,272
Gainesville	Alachua.....	3,633	New St. Augustine	St. Johns.....	693
Hawthorn	Alachua.....	296	Sumterville.....	Sumter.....	886
High Springs	Alachua.....	1,562	Titusville.....	Brevard.....	756
Inverness.....	Citra.....	600	Tampa.....	Hillsboro.....	15,859
Jacksonville	Duval.....	28,429	West Tampa... ..	Hillsboro.....	2,552
Jasper.....	Hamilton.....	993	Port Tampa.....	Hillsboro.....	1,367
Kissimee.....	Osceola.....	1,132	Tarpon Springs...	Hillsboro.....	540
Key West.....	Monroe.....	17,114	Tavares.....	Lake.....	250
Lake City.....	Columbia.....	4,023	Tallahassee	Leon.....	2,981
Lemon City.....	Dade.....	780	Wildwood	Sumter.....	244
Lakeland.....	Polk	1,180	Waldo.....	Alachua.....	700
Leesburg.....	Lake	765	Winter Park.....	Orange	366
Levyville	Levy	575			

QUESTIONS UPON FAIRBANKS' HISTORY OF FLORIDA.

NOTE.—These questions are prepared for the use of teachers mainly, and presuppose that the teacher has carefully read over the chapter, and is prepared to bring out the important matters contained in each chapter. It is not to be expected that the pupils will remember any but leading dates and events, or to repeat portions of the text ; a general outline of the history of the State is all that children should be expected to remember.

CHAPTER I.

Where did Columbus first land ? If he had sailed due west when he left Spain, where would he have reached land ? Who did the English claim first discovered Florida, and in what year ? Who is generally considered entitled to the discovery of Florida, and in what year ? What was the object of Ponce de Leon's voyage ? Whereabouts on the coast of Florida did he first descry land ? Where did he first land, and what did he suppose Florida to be, an island or main land ? What name did he give to the country, and why did he select that name ? Did he find what he was looking for ? What happened to him afterwards ?

CHAPTER II.

What was the next principal expedition to the coasts of Florida ? What was the purpose of De Ayllon's expedition in 1520 ? What story is told of the mode practised by the Indians to make large men of their young princes ? What success did De Ayllon have in procuring slaves, and what was the result ? How did the Indians revenge themselves when he came a second time ?

CHAPTER III.

Who was the next to plan an expedition into Florida ? In what year ? Where did Narvaez land ? How large a force did he have ? In what direction did he march—and what region did he expect to reach ? At what point did he give up his marching by land and build boats ? How did they make them tight and procure sails ?

APPENDIX

CHAPTER IV.

What kind of boats did Narvaez build, and how many people did they carry? What direction did they take, and with what expectation? What happened to Narvaez himself, and the other boats? What great river was crossed near its mouth? Who is entitled to the honor of being the first European who saw the Mississippi?

CHAPTER V.

What became of the Spaniards who accompanied Cabeca de Vaca? Where were they wrecked? What was the island called where they were cast on shore? To what did the Spaniards who survived owe their preservation? How many escaped with De Vaca? How many years did De Vaca and his companions stay among the Indians? What point did they eventually reach? How many years was it from the time De Vaca left Spain with the Narvaez expedition before he returned to Spain?

CHAPTER VI.

What reports were made of the advantages and beauty of Florida by those who had gone on these expeditions? Why did they express so great an admiration for Florida?

CHAPTER VII.

What report did Cabeca de Vaca give in reference to Florida upon his return to Spain? What part did De Soto have in the conquest of Peru? Whom did he marry? What was generally believed in reference to Florida? In what year did De Soto organize an expedition for the conquest of Florida? How large a force did he take with him? Where did he land? What Spaniard did he find who had been with the Indians many years? What story did Juan Ortez relate of his adventures? Who saved his life?

CHAPTER VIII.

In what direction did De Soto march through Florida? What Indian town did he reach, now a well-known Florida city? Into what part of Florida did they march? What course did they afterwards take? From whom did De Soto receive great kindness? Where did he procure quantities of pearls? Through what State did De Soto march into Alabama?

CHAPTER IX.

What great battle did De Soto have with the Indians in Alabama? What was the result of this battle? To what port did vessels sent by his wife from Cuba come? Why did De Soto decide not to return to Cuba? In what direction did De Soto march from Manvilla? What misfortune happened to De Soto's forces at a town in Northern Mississippi called Chicaca? What great river did De Soto come to and cross? What explorations did he make west of the Mississippi? Where did his death occur? What did the remnant of his forces do after his death? Where was he buried? In what manner did the Spaniards reach Mexico? How long was it from De Soto's landing in Florida until the last of his expedition reached Mexico?

CHAPTER X.

What was the route pursued by De Soto from the time he landed at Tampa Bay until he reached the Mississippi River? Through what portions of Florida did he pass? What States did he pass through before reaching the Mississippi? Was he the first European who saw the Mississippi River? Who had crossed it before, and when?

CHAPTER XI.

What other expeditions into Florida took place after that of De Soto? What massacre of Franciscan Missionaries took place at Tampa Bay? What was the fate of a Spanish treasure fleet? What were they carrying, and what became of the gold and silver with which they were laden? What expedition was sent into Florida from Mexico? Where did they land? Into what part of the country was a party sent for exploration? How far into the interior did they go? What was the name of the commander of this expedition, and what became of it? What large river near Pensacola could they have ascended and reached a fertile country suited for settlement?

CHAPTER XII.

What was the purpose of most of the expeditions which had been sent to Florida? What success did they meet with? From what country did the next expedition to Florida come? What was its purpose? Who commanded the expedition? Where did they first land? Where did they

build a fort and have a garrison? Where did Ribaut then go? What happened to the garrison after Ribaut's departure? In what State was the French fort built? In what year did this French expedition come to Florida?

CHAPTER XIII.

What prevented Ribaut's immediate return to his garrison at Port Royal? When did a new French expedition come to Florida? Where did they land and build a fort? What was the fort called? What name did they give to the St. Johns River? What very old men did the French meet? What excursions did Laudonnière make? How did the French colony subsist? What English captain made a landing near them? What offer did he make them? What notable plant did the English notice to be in use among the Indians? What qualities did they attribute to tobacco?

CHAPTER XIV.

Who commanded a second expedition sent out from France to relieve Laudonnière? How large a force did it carry? What religious motives induced Spain to send a large force to drive out the French Huguenots? Who commanded the Spanish expedition? Where did Menendez land his forces? What name was given to the place where he landed? When Ribaut learned of the Spanish forces having landed at St. Augustine, what plan did he adopt to drive them out or capture them? What prevented its success? What course did Menendez pursue to counteract the French? What attack was made on Fort Caroline, and what was the result?

CHAPTER XV.

After Ribaut had started with nearly all his forces to attack the Spaniards at St. Augustine, what happened to his fleet? Where were his vessels driven ashore? Upon what conditions did they surrender to Menendez? What treatment did they receive? Where were the French Huguenots put to death? Why is the place called Matanzas? What became of Laudonnière and the few French who escaped from Fort Caroline? (What name did the Spaniards give to the St. Johns River?)

CHAPTER XVI.

What was the name of the Indian town where Menendez located St. Augustine? What was done towards a permanent settlement there?

What kind of a fort was built ? What difficulties did Menendez encounter in his colony ? What mutiny occurred ? What portions of the coast did Menendez examine ? What efforts were made to establish missions among the Indians ? How long afterwards did Menendez return to Spain and in what description of vessel ?

CHAPTER XVII.

Who was Dominic de Gourgues ? What expedition did he prepare and for what purpose ? In what year did he sail from France ? What did he pretend was the object of his expedition ? Where did he first go ? In what island in the West Indies did he land and repair his vessels ? At what point did he declare the purpose of his voyage ? What harbor in Florida did he enter and what people did he meet ?

CHAPTER XVIII.

What places did the Spaniards then occupy ? What were De Gourgues' plans for attacking the Spanish forts on the St. Johns ? What allies did he have ? Which of the Spanish forts did he first attack ? State the subsequent attack of the fort on the south side of the St. Johns and its result. What name had the Spaniards given to Fort Caroline ? How was it captured ? How many escaped ? What did De Gourgues do with his prisoners ? What inscription did he place on the spot where they were executed ? Why was this done ? Where did De Gourgues then go, and what reception did he meet with in France ? Who tried to have him captured ? How should these acts be regarded ?

CHAPTER XIX.

When did Menendez return to Florida ? In what condition did he find his colony ? What efforts did he make to establish missions among the Indians ? What mission was undertaken in Chesapeake Bay and what was the fate of the missionaries ? What position was afterwards given Menendez on his return to Spain ? What Englishman made an attack on St. Augustine ? What damage did he do to the city ? What outbreak occurred from the Indians against the missions which had been founded at different points ? With what Indian tribe did the Spaniards wage war in 1638 ? How long did the Spaniards keep the Apalachian prisoners at work upon the fortification of St. Augustine ?

CHAPTER XX.

At what period did the English occupy Carolina ? Was their settlement of Carolina considered an encroachment upon the country claimed by Spain ? What freebooter attacked St. Augustine in 1665 ? What did he accomplish ? What troubles grew up between the Spaniards in Florida and the English colonists in Carolina ? What caused hostilities between the Spaniards in Florida and various Indian tribes ? What is said of the French occupation of the Mississippi ? What name had the Spaniards given to the Mississippi ? What did the English call it ? What Indian tribe occupied the interior of Florida ? When was Jamestown settled by the English ? How long was it after the Spaniards had settled at St. Augustine ? When was Plymouth colony founded ? What settlements were made on the Atlantic coast during the next fifty years ?

CHAPTER XXI.

By whom was Florida invaded in 1702 ? What success did Governor Moore have in his attack on St. Augustine ? What loss of life did his forces sustain, and what did it cost South Carolina ? What injury did he inflict upon St. Augustine ? What part of Florida was invaded by Governor Moore in 1704 ? What injury did he inflict upon the Indian missions ? What incursion into Florida was made by Colonel Barnwell two years later ? What parts of the country did he overrun ? Where were forts established in 1718 ?

CHAPTER XXII.

By whom was Pensacola captured in 1719 ? How and by whom was it recaptured ? By whom was it captured from the Spaniards shortly afterwards ? How long did the French forces hold it ? Where was Pensacola first built ? Where was it afterwards removed ? When was the present location occupied ? What difficulties arose between the English colonists and the Spanish authorities in Florida ? What wrongs did the English charge against the Spaniards ? What incursion was made into Florida in 1727, by whom and to what point ?

CHAPTER XXIII.

When were the first settlements made in South Carolina, and where ? What scheme was proposed for the settlement of the lands south of the Carolina settlement ? What distinguished general made a settlement on

the Altamaha? By whom was the settlement objected to? By whom was an expedition led against St. Augustine, and in what year? What forces were engaged on the side of the English? How long did the siege of St. Augustine last? Was the attack successful? By whom was the Spanish forces commanded?

CHAPTER XXIV.

By whom was General Oglethorpe's settlement at Frederica attacked in 1742? What was the result of the Spanish attack? What caused their retreat? On which side was the larger force? By whom was another incursion into Florida made? What led to a cession of Florida to the English crown? What was given in exchange? In what year did Florida become an English province? How was Florida divided and known?

CHAPTER XXV.

What provisions were made by the treaty of cession as to the religious privileges of its Roman Catholic inhabitants? Did the Spanish inhabitants remain? What governments in Florida did Great Britain establish? What boundaries were established for East Florida? How was West Florida bounded on the west? Are those the present boundaries? What system of Land Grants did the English Government establish? What was the effect on the country of the English occupation? What roads were built? What colony was established at New Smyrna by Dr. Turnbull? Of whom was it composed? What became of it? To what place did they remove, and where do many of their descendants now live?

CHAPTER XXVI.

What distinguished Americans were burned in effigy at the beginning of the American Revolution? From whence did many loyalists come into Florida during the American Revolution? After the capture of Charleston by the English forces what leading American patriots were sent as prisoners to St. Augustine? When was Florida ceded to Spain? What became of the English who had settled in Florida?

CHAPTER XXVII.

Upon the restoration of Florida to Spain what inducements were given to settlers? What portion of West Florida was ceded to France? When was this done? When did France sell Louisiana to the United States? What part formerly belonging to Florida was included in that

purchase? When hostilities began in 1812 between England and the United States, what course did the United States Government pursue in reference to Florida? What points in Florida did the United States troops first occupy? When did they withdraw? What expedition from Georgia came into Florida and had an encounter with hostile Indians? Where did this take place? What Florida town was occupied by a British force in 1814? What American general took the place from the English? Where was a negro fort built by Colonel Nichol? For what purpose? Who captured it? What expedition came into Florida in 1818? Who commanded it? What places did he capture? When was a treaty made with Spain to sell Florida to the United States? What sum did the United States pay for the purchase of Florida? When did the United States take possession of Florida?

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Who was appointed military governor of Florida upon the change of flags? When was a territorial government established? Who was the first governor under the territorial government? How many counties were established in East Florida, and how many in West Florida? Who was the first delegate in Congress? When and where was the capital of the Territory placed? By what treaty were the Indians to remove to Arkansas? Did the Indians consent to go? What occurred in 1835 at Fort King? What noted massacre of United States troops occurred, and when and where? What encounters with the Indians immediately followed?

CHAPTER XXIX.

What were the principal engagements during the ensuing four years? What generals were in command of troops? What battle was fought with the Indians in the southern portion of the State? Who broke up the encampment of Indians at Tampa who had come in to emigrate? What prominent naturalist was killed on Indian Key?

CHAPTER XXX.

What tragic affair occurred near Micanopy? What successful officer was assigned to the command of the troops in Florida? What means did General Worth employ to bring in the Indians? When the Indians came in where were they sent? What report did General Worth make to the War Department in 1842? How long had the war lasted, and how much

had it cost the United States? How many lives of officers and men were lost in the Florida War? When and where did a great tidal wave occur? What damage did it do?

CHAPTER XXXI.

When was the first convention held for framing a State Constitution, and where was it held? What means did Congress adopt to promote the settlement of the interior of the State? When was Florida admitted as a State into the Union? About what was the estimated population of Florida in 1860? What was it in 1850? Where did the new settlers come from? What lands were given to the State by Congress in 1850? How many millions of acres did the State receive? What railroad was chartered in 1853? What was the population in 1860?

CHAPTER XXXII.

How was the election of Mr. Lincoln to the Presidency regarded by the Southern people? Did Florida share in this feeling? Who was Governor in 1860? For what purpose was a State Convention called? What did this Convention do? What was the vote on adoption of an Ordinance of Secession? What course did the Senators and Representative in Congress pursue? What was done in reference to the forts and Navy Yard in Florida? What about Fort Pickens? How large a Confederate force was assembled at the Navy Yard, and under what General? Who took possession of Fernandina, St. Augustine, and Jacksonville, and in what year? To what extent were military operations carried on in Florida prior to 1864?

CHAPTER XXXIII.

What purpose did General Gilmore have in occupying Florida in 1864? To what points did Colonel Henry penetrate in February, 1864? By whom was an advance made in February, 1864, intended to reach Tallahassee? What battle occurred between the Union and Confederate forces? What was the number of troops engaged on each side? What is this engagement called? What was the result? What were the losses on each side? Upon what river were several United States transports blown up by torpedoes? What partisan leader was actively engaged in Florida? Mention some of Captain Dickinson's exploits? How many regiments of Confederate troops served during the Civil War?

CHAPTER XXXIV.

What engagement took place near the close of the Civil War? When did the Confederate forces in Florida surrender? Who was appointed by President Johnson Provisional Governor of Florida? When was a Constitutional Convention called? What ordinance was repealed, and what action was had by the Convention? How many votes were cast at the October election? Who was elected Governor? Who were elected Senators? Were they admitted to seats in Congress? What Constitutional amendment was ratified? What was the nature of the Fourteenth Constitutional Amendment passed by Congress? When was the Reconstruction Act passed by Congress? What was its effect? When was Florida readmitted to representation in Congress? Who was elected Governor? By whom were all the offices filled? When was there an effort made to attach West Florida to Alabama? Of whom was half of the Legislature in 1873 composed? Who succeeded Governor Reed as Governor? After the death of Governor Hart, who became Governor? Who was the first Democrat elected Senator after the reconstruction period?

CHAPTER XXXV.

Who became Governor at the election of 1876? How was the vote of Florida counted for President at that election, and by the Electoral Commission decision who became President? What was the population of Florida by the census of 1880? Who succeeded Governor Drew as Governor of Florida? What important sale of State lands was made by Governor Bloxham? What important railroad charter was granted? How large a land grant was made to the Pensacola and Atlantic Railroad Company? What change was made in the election of officers by the new State Constitution adopted in 1885? What epidemic prevailed in 1888?

CHAPTER XXXVI.

What was the population of Florida by the census of 1890? To what extent did the white population exceed the colored? What important railroad was constructed in East Florida? When was Florida visited by an excessively cold wave? How low did the temperature go? What was the effect on the orange groves? When was this freeze followed by another of great severity? What was the final effect of those two great freezes upon the orange groves of Florida? How many years had elapsed since the trees were previously killed?

What important discovery was made at Dunellen of valuable mineral

deposits? In what portions of Florida were these deposits found? To what extent has phosphate rock been shipped from the State? What provision has been made in Florida for schools and seminaries of learning? When was Florida visited with a great storm? How extensive was it?

CHAPTER XXXVII.

What influence has the orange industry had in developing Florida? When did a very destructive blizzard occur in Florida? What were its effects? What unusual feature accompanied it? In what city is the State Capitol? What efforts were made to remove the Capital, and with what results? What increase of population did the census of 1900 show?

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

Give some account of the burning of Jacksonville. How many squares were burned? How many houses? How many people lost their homes? When did this great conflagration occur?

CHAPTER XXXIX.

What is said about the rebuilding of Jacksonville, development of the lumber and naval stores business, and of progress of the orange and vegetable industries?

CHAPTER XL.

Who was the first Territorial Governor? Who the first Delegate to Congress? Who was the first Governor after Florida became a State of the Union? Who were the first Senators? How many years was Florida without representation in Congress? How many members of Congress has Florida in 1904?

CHAPTER XLI.

What is said about the Indian War claim? Whom was it against? What was the origin of it? When was it paid and how much did it amount to when paid?

